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Editorial

OUR ANNUAL MEETING

The Classical Association of the Middle West and South will hold its thirty-fourth annual meeting in Iowa City, Iowa, on April 14-16, 1938. Twice before—in 1914 and in 1925—the Association has enjoyed the gracious hospitality of the State University of Iowa; members who were present at either or both of these meetings will need no urging to return to Iowa City in 1938.

Professor Roy C. Flickinger has kindly consented to be chairman of the Iowa committee which is making plans for our comfort and happiness. The Jefferson Hotel will be headquarters, and Professor Flickinger and his coadjutors will be keenly delighted if the members of the Association attend in such large numbers as to tax the capacity of that excellent caravanserai.

The program (to be published in the April JOURNAL) promises to be interesting, stimulating, and helpful. The papers to be presented will deal with numerous phases of our work and will, I believe bring genuine inspiration to high-school, college, and university teachers, as well as to lovers of the classics generally.

Buoyant souls who have abundant enthusiasm to share, gloomy watchers of the signs of the times who need encouragement and a stiffened backbone, and soldiers of the front line who are growing weary of the everlasting battle against nescience and Philistinism—all should prepare to make the Easter pilgrimage.

"Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering . . . not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together."

HUBERT MCNEILL POTEAT

A SIDE-LIGHT ON THE KATHARSIS

By HERBERT SANBORN
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Not long ago in rereading Aristotle's *Poetics* I came across a passage, the import of which has previously escaped me, although I must have seen it many times. I refer to the sentence (xvii, 3) in which the author says:

ὅσα δὲ δυνατὸν καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν συναπεργαζόμενον πιθανώτατοι γάρ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως οἱ ἐν τοῖς πάθεσιν εἰσιν, καὶ χειμαίνει ὁ χειμαΐζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνει ὁ ὅργιζόμενος ἀληθινώτατα.

In Butcher's rendering I found,

Again, the poet should work out his play to the best of his power, with appropriate gestures; for those who feel emotion are most convincing through natural sympathy with the characters they represent; and one who is agitated storms, one who is angry rages, with the most life-like reality.

It seemed to me at first sight that Aristotle is concerned here with a problem once investigated by William James with reference to whether actors in presenting a given emotion are themselves actually experiencing the emotion involved; and I was reminded also of an assertion of Richard Wagner (somewhere in *Oper und Drama*) that the diction of Shakespeare clearly indicates from its naturalness that the speeches were composed, or at least constantly modified, during the preparation of the plays for the stage by the actors—the method, as I have been informed, actually employed in our day by the school of Lady Gregory. Together with these I recalled at once Horace's *Si vis me flere*,¹ which had once seemed so self-evident, and the celebrated Wagner-Hanslick controversy in music, which revolved about the chief aesthetic problem here touched on.

¹ *Ars Poetica*, 102–111.

The theory of James² is given in his famous chapter on the emotions in which the author indicates his agreement with the Danish physiologist, Professor C. Lange—the view which has come to be called the James-Lange theory of emotion. James himself summed the theory up in opposition to the regular every-day view, which says that we weep *because* we are sorry, rage or strike *because* we are angry, flee *because* we are afraid, etc. by saying, "We feel sorry because we cry, angry because we strike, afraid because we tremble, etc.," recognizing, however, that this way of presenting the matter was quite liable to be misunderstood.

In opposition to any dualism of soul and body James aimed to affirm that the two are one to such an extent that the bodily changes are an integral part of any emotion. He insisted that, if the bodily aspects of any emotion could be left out, the psychical state would be not an emotion but merely some cold intellectual reaction. When one perceives a bear or receives bad news, the perception touches off reflex mechanisms which produce movements and vasomotor changes, trembling, weeping, etc. The emotion "is nothing but the feeling of a bodily state and it has a purely bodily cause."

In reply to an objection which says, "If this theory be true, any voluntary and cold-blooded arousal of the so-called manifestations of a special emotion ought to give the emotion itself, whereas an actor can perfectly simulate an emotion and yet be inwardly cold," James insists that in rage we "work ourselves up" to a climax by repeated outbreaks of expression, and that by refusing to express a passion we eliminate it. If we assume the bodily attitudes of a given emotion, we experience the emotion itself. In this connection James refers to the matter which concerns us especially here, namely to a statistical inquiry in *The Anatomy of Acting*, by Mr. William Archer, in which various actors themselves give antithetical reports with respect to whether they are themselves in the state of emotion they portray. He explains the discrepancy by saying that the visceral and organic part of the expression can doubtless be suppressed by actors of the group to which Coquelin

² *Principles of Psychology*, II, 442 ff.

belonged, who state that in presenting any emotion they are inwardly cold.

In connection with the above-mentioned passage from Aristotle, it occurred to me now that this author, in accord with his general philosophical position and from other statements in the *Poetics*, must mean here a definitely realistic attitude on the part of poet and actor, and—by a perfectly legitimate inference—also on the part of the audience. In other words the actor who is actually in a state of joy or sorrow can best present a joyful or sorrowful character, one with murder in his heart, a murderer, etc.; and that such a presentation, which is calculated to arouse in the audience the same emotional state, is artistic. This, as it happens, is the neo-realistic point of view of Hanslick in the famous controversy referred to, and goes back through Zimmermann and Herbart to Plato, so far as the general philosophical background is concerned.³

In looking for other renderings of this passage in Aristotle, I came unexpectedly upon the linguistic problem with which this paper is chiefly concerned. I found in the first translation I examined, the French version of E. Egger, given in *Les Auteurs Grecs* (Paris, 1873),⁴ that my inference with respect to the auditor was in fact his very interpretation of the Greek, since he translates the verbs *χειμαίνω* and *χαλεπαίνω* (contrary to Butcher, Bywater-Ross, and certain others listed below) transitively. When Professor Charles Little, of George Peabody College for Teachers, discovered, furthermore, that Thomas Taylor, in a Latin translation of 1645, and Theodore Buckley, in the Bohn translation of 1846, both agree with Egger, it seemed that I had stumbled on an apparently previously unnoticed dual tradition, in which (since comments were lacking) neither side was aware of the antithetical rendering of the Greek by the other, and doubtless not aware of the aesthetic problem involved; this has in fact emerged only in recent aesthetic investigation. All of the translators seem to assume without comment that the arousal of actual emotion (which in point of fact certainly is more definitely actual in proportion as the actor or a

³ Cf. "The Problem of Music" by Herbert Sanborn, *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Psychology*, 379. ⁴ Listed as Transitive No. 26, below.

person in real life is under the influence of the given emotion), is the aim of genuine art. At least there are no critical comments that would give a different impression; and of course most earlier translators of Aristotle would hardly doubt that the views of the Master, whatever they might be, would necessarily be correct. Either translation of the two verbs in question is of course compatible with our interpretation of the author's meaning; but probably the transitive version is less open to doubt.

In order to verify the theory of such a dual tradition, I decided to examine all translations and annotations of this passage which have been handed down to us and have been able to find the following, which have been grouped together according as they translate the verbs in question transitively or intransitively.⁵ Those who translate the passage transitively are as follows:

1. *Poetica*. Per Alexandrum Paccium in Latinum Conversa Venetiis (1536); Parisii (1542):

Proinde quantum fieri potest fingendum illud, quod ex habitibus naturalibus paratur, quanquidem hi maxime suapte natura persuadent, qui perturbationibus affecti sunt. Quo fit ut exagitatus exagitet perturbetque verissime perturbatus.

2. Robertello, Francesco, *In Librum Aristotelis De Arte Poetica Explicationes*: Florentia (1548); Basileae (1555). Both have the same translation as 1.

3. *Rettorica et Poetica d'Aristotile*, tr. di Grece in Lingua Volgare Fiorentina da Bernardo Segni: Firenze (1549), Vinegia (1551):

Debbesi adunque fingere il più che si può le cose con gli habiti naturali: concio sia che gli huomini maggiormente commuouano di lor natura, che in esse perturbationi si ritrouar. Unde inter viene, che chi è afflitto, commuoue altri ad afflitione: & l'adirato commuoue veramente à sdegne.

⁵ The works examined are located for the most part in the libraries of the University of Illinois, University of Chicago, McGill University, and the Library of Congress, all of which the writer was obliged to visit personally, since many of the books are so valuable that they are kept in the vaults of the institutions mentioned and are not available for loans to other institutions. In addition to these I am indebted to Professor Josiah Morse, of the University of South Carolina, for copying for me one translation in the library of that institution; to Miss Amy Breyer, of Vanderbilt University, for obtaining one translation from the Chicago University Library; and to Mr. F. Stuart Crawford for copying two translations from volumes in the library of Harvard University.

4. *Poetica d'Aristotile, Vulgarizzata, et Sposta per Lodovico Castelvetro: Basileae* (1576):

Et, quanto è possibile, bisogna che altri anchora adornando di figure, poeti. Percioche sono attiissimi à commueuere per la stessa natura coloro, li quali si truouano nelle passioni. Per la qual cosa, chi è in tempesta vi tira *altri*.

5. *Annotationi di M. Alessandro Piccolomini, nel Libro della Poetica d'Aristotele, con la Tradvtione del Medesimo Libro, in Lingua Volgare: In Venegia* (1575); *Siena* (1572):

Et in quante più cose sia possibile dee chi compone, alle medesime forme, ch'ad esprimer s'hanno, figurare & quasi commuouer se stesse: essendo dalla stessa natura accomodati à persuader coloro, che nei medesimi affetti sono. Et per queste ageuolmente stimola chi è veramente stimolato: & ad ira commuoue chi si truoua accesso d'ira.

6. *Aristoteles: Operum Nova Editio, Graece et Latine. Graecus Contextus quam Emendatissime . . . est Editus: Adscriptus . . . Emendationibus in quibus Plurimae nunc Primum in Lucem Prodeunt, ex Bibliotheca Isaaci Casavboni . . . Accesserunt ex Libris Aristotelis, qui Hodie Desiderantur, Fragmenta quaedam! Lugdvnii* (1590):

Quantum autem fieri potest, oportet figuris exornando exercere poetim: maxime enim persuasibiles sunt ab eadem natura, qui in perturbationibus sunt. Quamobrem & fluctuare facit fluctuans, & ad iram concitat iratus verissime.

7. *Aristotelis de Poetica Liber*: Daniel Heinsius Recensuit: Leyden (1610); Paris (1629):

Sed & quantum fieri potest, ipsi habitus componendo addendi sunt: maxime enim propter similitudinem ejusdem naturae, qui in perturbationibus sunt, persuadent. Ideoque fluctuantem spectatorem efficit, qui fluctuat: & qui irascitur iratum.

8. *Aristotelis De Poetica Liber, Latine Conversus, et Analytica Methodo Illustrata*: Londini (1623):

Quantum autem potest, etiam Figuris-Actionis *apud te ipsum* Allaborando & agendo, Fabulam Fingas; *ut in personas eas, quas imitaris, conversus, tanquam illi ipsi fias.* (c) Eorum enim (qui pari naturâ ingenioque praediti, ad persuadendum accidunt;) qui Perturbationibus-Moti, persuadendo, plus valent, *quam qui Sedato Animo dicunt:* (d) Unde & fluctuare *res* facit, is qui *ipse* fluctuat; (e) & ad iram concitat, is qui excandescit ipse, veracissimâ viâ.

There are also notes in the margin to the following effect:

2. Praecept. Ne verbis tantum, (dum scribis) sed & *Corporis Gestu*, singulos Motus ipse apud te excites, & prope inustos habeas: adeoque illuc te totum transferas, ut quasi tui oblitus, verò te illum putas esse. (c) Rat. Quia id, quod Spectantem maximopere moveat, perficiunt animi tui Motus. (d) Sive Res-ipsas oratione imitèr: (e) Sive Personarum Mores & Adfectus.

9. *La Poétique d'Aristote*, Traduite en Français, par M. Dacier: Paris (1692).

Il faut encore autant qu'il est possible, que le Poëte, en composant imite les gestes & l'action de ceux qu'il fait parler, car c'est une chose seure que de deux hommes, qui seront d'un égal génie, celui qui est véritablement agité, agite de même ceux qui l'écoutent, & celui qui est véritablement en colère, ne manque jamais d'exciter les mêmes mouvemens dans le coeur des spectateurs.

10. *Aristoteles De Poetica Liber*, ex Versione Theodori Goulstoni: Cantabrigiae (1696). (Another edition in Greek and Latin: Glasgow [1745]. I have used the earlier edition.)

The translation is as in 3 with the following changes in punctuation: (a) Hyphens omitted in *Figuris-Actionis*, and *Perturbationibus-Moti*. (b) Comma omitted after *imitaris*, *persuadendo*, and *valent*. (c) Comma omitted after *concitat* and placed after *is*. (d) Parentheses around *qui . . . accedunt* omitted. The notes are the same, but are at the foot of the page instead of in the margin.

11. *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, Michel Conrad Curtius: Hannover (1753).

So viel möglich ist, muss der Dichter in seinem Gedichte die Leidenschaften ausdrücken. Denn nach der Natur kann derjenige am leichtesten überreden, der aus dem Affekt redet. Seine wahrhafte Bewegung beweget auch uns, und sein Zorn macht auch uns zornig.

12. *Les Quatre Poétiques d'Aristote, d'Horace, de Vida, de Despréaux*, Avec les Traductions & des Remarques par M. L'Abbé Batteux: Paris (1771).

Il faut encore que le poète, autant qu'il est possible, soit acteur en composant. L'expression de celui qui est dans l'action, est toujours plus persuasifs: on s'agit avec celui qui est agité: on souffre, on s'irrite avec celui qui souffre, qui est irrité.

13. *La Poetica de Aristoteles*: Madrid (1772).

Y debe el poeta, en quanto pueda, figurarse, y como commoverse a las mismas fortunas que pretendiere empresar, siendo así que naturalmente mueven mas los hombres que padecen perturbaciones. De donde sucede, que el que está afligido mueve a los otros a affliction, y el ayrado verdaderamente mueve a enojo.

14. *Aristotle's Treatise on Poetry*, Translated with Notes on the Translation and on the Original . . . by Thomas Twining: London (1789). (Another edition in 1812.)

In composing, the Poet should even, as much as possible, be an *actor*: for by natural sympathy, they are most persuasive and affecting, who are under the influence of the actual passion. We share the agitation of those, who appear to be truly agitated—the anger of those who appear to be truly angry.

15. *Aristotelis Opera Omnia Graece*, Volumen quintum, Theophilus Buhle: Göttingen (1794).

Quantum autem potest, gestibus allaborantem fingere (oportet). Nam maxime persuasibiles ab ipsa natura sunt ii, quorum affectus excitantur & alias perturbat is qui (ipse) perturbatur; & ad iram concitat is, qui ipse irascitur, verissime.

16. *Aristotelis De Poetica Liber Graece et Latine*, Thomas Tyrwhitt: Oxonii (1794).

This translation is identical with that of 15, except for an *etiam* placed before *gestibus*, with (oportet) omitted, and (ipse) removed from the parenthesis and italicized.

17. *El Arte poetica de Aristoteles en Castellano*, Joseph Goya Y Muniaín: Madrid (1793).

Demás de éste se ha de revestir quanto sera posible de los afectos propios: porque ningunos persuaden tanto como los verdaderamente apasionados: de aqui es, que perturba el perturbado, y el irritado irrita de veras.

18. *The Rhetoric, Poetic, and Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, Translated from the Greek by Thomas Taylor: London (1818).

For the poet, as much as possible should co-operate with the scenery; since those are naturally most adapted to persuade who are themselves under the influence of passion. Hence, also, he agitates others who is himself agitated, and he excites others to anger who is himself most truly enraged.

19. *Aristotle's Poetics*, Literally Tr., with Explanatory Notes and an analysis: London (1819).

He ought also, as much as possible, to make the *player* assist *his speech* with

gestures. For those men are naturally most persuasive, who are *affected* by any passions; thus he who is agitated most truly agitates others, and he who is angry himself excites anger in others.

20. Carl Hermann Weise, *Aristoteles Poetik*: Merseburg (1824):
In so weit es ferner möglich ist, muss er auch Bewegungen anbringen. Denn am meisten erschüttern und rühren diejenigen vermöge unmittelbarer Einwirkungen auf die Sinne, die von Leidenschaften bewegt sind. So erregt der Bestürmte am sichersten Sturm im Gemüt des Zuschauers und empört der Zornige.

21. *Aristotelis Latine Interpretibus Variis Edidit Academia Regia Borussia*. Antonio Riccobono Interprete: Berlin (1831).

Quantum autem fieri potest, oportet figuris exornando exercere poesim: maxime enim persuasibiles sunt ab eadem natura, qui in perturbationibus sunt; quamobrem et fluctuare facit fluctuans, et ad iram concitat iratus verissime.

22. Didot: Paris (1849).

Quantum autem fieri potest etiam toto habitu simul operari decet. Nam proxime ad verum accedunt qui anima commoti sunt ex ipsa natura *hoc sentiente et suppeditante*, ac perturbat perturbatus et exacerbat iratus proxime verum.

23. *Poétique d'Aristote*, Tr. en Français . . . par J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire: Paris, (1858).

Autant qu'on le peut, il faut encore s'identifier aux situations. Les personnages qui épreuvent une passion, sont surtout persuasifs, quand ceux qui les font parler ont la même impression. On émeut véritablement quand on est ému; on insulte quand on est en colère,

24. Bohn's Library Edition of the *Poetics* (Theodore Buckley, [1846]).

The translation of this passage is identical with the Heinsius translation given under 7 above.

25. *Aristoteles Poetik*: Uebers. und Erklärt von Adolf Stahr: Stuttgart (1860).

Ja, so weit als möglich, soll der Dichter selbst mit den Gebärden seiner Personen mitarbeiten. Denn den sichersten Eindruck auf andere infolge derselben Naturbeschaffenheit, macht derjenige, der selbst sich im Zustande der jedesmaligen Leidenschaft befindet, und wer selbst aufgeregt oder erzürnt ist, versetzt andere am wahrsten in Aufregung oder in Zorn.

26. *Aristote: Poétique*, Expliquée Littéralement et Annotée par F. de Farnajon, et Traduite en Français par E. Egger: Paris, (1873).

Il faut encore, autant qu'on le peut, se placer dans la situation (des personnages). Car, en fait de passion, la sympathie est ce qu'il y a de plus persuasif. On agite véritablement quand on est agité; on irrite quand on est en colère.

27. *Aristoteles: περὶ ποιητικῆς*, von Alfred Gudemann: Berlin und Leipzig (1921).

Sodann soll der Dichter, soweit es irgend wie angeht, *Mienen und Gebärden seiner Personen an sich* (darstellerisch) miterproben, denn am überzeugendsten sind die, welche kraft ihres eigenen Naturells sich in (die betreffenden) Gemütsstimmungen versetzen können, und am wahrheitsgetreuesten wird der selbst heftig Erregte aufregend darstellen und der Erzürnte seinen Zorn auf andere übertragen.

28. *Aristoteles: Poetica*: Text i Traducció de J. Farran i Mayoral . . . : Barcelona (1926).

Cal també en el possible, que el poeta posí en acció la seva obra amb els propis gestos, porque donada la mateixa natura els poetes mes convincents seran els que experimentin los passions dels personatges: qui està agitat, agita, i qui està colèrio, irrita mes vérament.

29. *Aristotle's Poetics*, Translated by T. A. Moxon: London, Dent (1934).

In composing, the poet should even as much as possible, be an actor: for, by natural sympathy, they are most persuasive and affecting, who are under the influence of actual passion. We share the agitation of those who appear to be agitated . . . the anger of those who appear to be truly angry.

The intransitive translations are fewer in number and begin, so far as I have been able to determine, with the nineteenth century.

1. M. Jacob Heno Valett, *Aristoteles, Ueber die Dichtkunst*: Leipzig (1803).

Verwende aber auch allen möglichen Fleiss auf den leidenschaftlichen Ausdruck, denn niemand täuscht natürlicher Weise mehr als wer wirklich im Affekte ist. Daher tobt auch nur der, in dem es tobt, und zürnet nur der Erzürnte am täuschendsten.

2. Tafel Oslander und Schwab, *Griechische Prosaiker, Poetik*, Übersetzt von Dr. Christian Walz: Leipzig (1835).

So viel als möglich ist, muss man auch die Bewegungen zu Hilfe nehmen. Denn die, welche in der Leidenschaft sind, sind von Natur selbst am natürlichensten: daher drückt der, in dessen Innerem es wirklich stürmt, stürmische Gemütsbewegungen, der Zürnende den Affekt des Zorns am wahrsten aus.

3. *Aristoteles: Ueber die Dichtkunst*, von Franz Susemihl: Leipzig (1854). (Later edition, 1874, is identical.)

Ja, es muss der Dichter sogar so weit es angeht, bei der Aufführung auch zugleich seine Personen in Haltung und Geberde sich selbst vorspielen. Denn am Ueberzeugendsten bringen einen Affekt Die zum Ausdruck, welche sich wirklich von Natur in diesem Affekt befinden, und es stürmt der Aufgeregte und es tobt der Wütende am Wahrsten.

4. *Aristoteles, Ueber die Dichtkunst*, Dr. Friedrich Ueberweg: Berlin (1869). (A later edition in 1875.)

Nach Möglichkeit muss der Dichter auch dadurch mitarbeiten, dass er sich in die Stimmungen hineinversetzt; denn am überzeugendsten stellen kraft der gleichen Natur diejenigen dar, welche die betreffenden Gefühle selbst hegen: Der Erregte stellt den Erregten, der von Zorn Erfüllte den Zürnenden am Wahrsten dar.

5. *Aristoteles, Ueber die Dichtkunst*, Deutsche Übers., mit Kritischen Anmerkungen Versehen, von Friedrich Brandscheid: Wiesbaden (1882).

Ja der Dichter muss in allem so mitarbeiten, dass er sich so viel als möglich auch in die Stimmungen seiner Personen hineinversetzt. Denn am überzeugendsten stellen diejenigen Gefühle dar, welche selbst von ihnen ergriffen sind, und am wahrhaftesten stürmt wer in Aufregung versetzt, und zürnt, wer von Zorn erfüllt ist.

6. *Aristotolis De Arte Poetica* (Vahlen's text), with Translation by Edward Ross Wharton: Oxford (1883); 3rd edition, from which I quote, London (1890).

As far as possible also the poet should work out the plot by *acting* it; for, starting with the same nature, those who *feel* anything are most effective: the sufferer suffers, and the angry man storms, in the most genuine manner.

7. *Aristoteles Poetik*, Uebersetzt und Eingeleitet von Theodor Gompers: Leipzig (1897).

So weit als möglich soll ferner der Dichter zu gleicher Zeit auch das Gebärden-spiel feststellen. Denn am allerüberzeugendsten wirkt die Naturkraft der Leidenschaft selbst und nichts gleicht der Wahrheit, mit welcher der Zorner-füllte schilt, der wild Erregte rast.

8. *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, an Amplified Version with Supplementary Illustrations for Students of English, by Lane Cooper: Boston, New York (1913).

So far as he is able, the poet should also assume the very attitudes and gestures appropriate to the emotion of the agents; for among authors with the same natural ability, they will be most convincing who themselves experience the feelings they represent. The poet who himself feels distress or anger will represent distress or anger with the most life-like reality.

9. *Aristotle's Poetics*, with an English Translation by William Hamilton Fyfe (Loeb Classical Library): London, Cambridge (1927).

The poet should also, as far as possible, complete the effect by using gestures. For, if their powers are equal, those who are actually in the emotions are the most convincing; he who is agitated blusters and the angry man rages with the maximum of conviction.

10. *Aristotle's Poetics, Longinus On the Sublime*, Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Charles Sears Baldwin; Translation of the Poetics by Ingram Bywater and of Longinus On the Sublime by W. Rhys. Roberts: New York (1930).

As far as may be, too, the poet should even act his story with the very gestures of his personages. Given the same natural qualifications, he who feels the emotions to be described will be the most convincing; distress and anger for instance are portrayed most truthfully by one who is feeling them at the moment.

11. *Aristote Poétique*, J. Hardy: Paris (1932).

En effet, du fait que les poëtes sont de même nature que nous, ceux-là sont les plus persuasifs qui entrent dans les passions, et il apparaît vraiment en proie à la détresse, celui qui sait se mettre dans la détresse, et vraiment en proie à la colère celui qui sait s'emporter.

In running through the available translations one notes in the authors a certain consciousness of ambiguities in the Greek which are reflected in the translations, and also in the few notes on the passage which I have been able to find.

Robertello (1543) has a comment on the passage in which he calls attention to its similarity in spirit with the passage in Horace beginning

format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem

recognizing its essentially realistic trend, also, in connection with his reference to the work of a famous Polish actor. Piccolomini (1792) has a note of a page and a half, in which he insists that the instructions are not meant for the actor but for the poet throughout, in relation to the audience. Dacier (1692) shows in his note that he takes the passage realistically, referring to Horace's *si vis me flere, . . .*⁶ and also to Quintilian's (x, 3, 15), *Si non resupini . . . accesserimus*. Curtius (1753, p. 263) explains in his note that the meaning is that the language shall be appropriate, that it shall not be bombastic, for example, in the description of real pain or deep emotion; and he illustrates by criticizing a scene from Racine where Therames expresses her sorrow in a long-winded passage void of real emotion. Pye (1792) refers to a note by Twining, which I have not seen, but which he says is "virtually though not literally of the same weight with the observation of Horace," and interprets the passage under the caption Note 2, as follows: Those who are moved by the passions themselves will express those passions most forcibly from their own feelings. Hence he who is really agitated, storms, and he who is really angry upbraids most truly and naturally.

Goya y Muniain (1798) also has a note referring to Horace's *si vis me flere*. Whittaker (1819) has the following note:

It is a thing self evident that the man who wishes to inflame an audience to anger, will do it more readily by appearing to be angry himself, than if he were to tell an irritating story in a calm and indifferent tone of voice.

Walz (1835) and Susemihl (1854, 1874) follow an emendation by Twining, also accepted by Herman Grasenheim and Ed. Müller in his *Geschichte der Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten*, II, 365, according to which the $\alpha\tau\delta\tau\eta\varsigma\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\phi\beta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ of the manuscripts is read as $\alpha\pi'\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma\tau\eta\varsigma\phi\beta\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, but have no further comment on the passage in question. Ritter (1359, p. 204) says:

hoc alterum praeceptum mores potissimum spectat, prius argumenti conformatio[n]em. Iam enim poeta suadet, ut is, dum sive iratos sive quocumque alio modo affectos pingit, ipse iratorum vel alio affectu commotorum vultus et gestus imitetur, quo verius eos affectus verbis exprimere possit ipse ira sive odio incitatus vel quodamcumque commotus scilicet qui vultum irati vel aversantis vel aliter commoti adhibet, is sese sponte subirasci aversarique sentit, idem in ceteris affectibus usu venire solet.

⁶ *Ars Poetica*, 102-111.

The question which kept occurring in the presence of the dual antithetical translation of the two verbs involved, namely, whether the transitive interpretation was justified by other instances from the text either of Aristotle or of other Greek writers, was not answered until I read the note by Teichmüller (1867) in which he makes the only reference to the matter which I have found. He gives the interpretations of Duntzer, Susemihl, and Vahlen as follows:

Denn am treuesten stellen dar, die welche in ihren Leidenschaften von derselben Natur sind, wie die von ihnen darzustellenden Leidenschaften. (Duntzer.)

Denn einen Affekt am überzeugendsten darstellen werden die, welche selbst schon von Natur in diesem Affekt sich befinden. (Susemihl.)

Wer von Natur zornig ist, setzt am wahrsten in Zorn, d. i. zeichnet am treuesten den Zornigen. (Vahlen.)

He says further,

Die Uebersetzung könnte (deshalb) vielleicht so gegeben werden, "So viel als möglich muss man die Rede auch durch die Figuren ersetzen. Denn das so sehr Ueberzeugende haben die leidenschaftlich Redenden durch die in uns sympathisch wirkende Natur; wie ja wer (durch die Wendungen der Rede) recht natürlich stürmt, uns auch mit in Sturm versetzt und wer recht wie wirklich zürnt, uns auch mit in Harnisch bringt." Wenn man nun auch vielleicht die bisherige Beweisführung anerkennen wollte so dürfte man doch eine weitere Rechtfertigung für den vielleicht einzig und allein dastehenden transitiven Gebrauch von *χειμαίνω* und *χαλεπαίνω* liefern.

In spite of this statement, we have seen in the above that the transitive interpretation of the passage in question has been by far the most prevalent. All translators alike seem to assume that Aristotle intends a realistic interpretation both for the actor and the audience, even in those cases where the passage is interpreted, as Piccolomini suggested, to be meant, not for the instruction of the actor but of the poet. By many, probably by all, the fact that a sympathetic arousal of emotion of any kind may be most effectively produced in the presence of real emotion (which nobody could deny as a phenomenon of practical every-day life) seems to be regarded as sufficient ground for the inference that it is the purpose of art to arouse such actual emotion. Even when this is obscured by the use of expressions like "most convincing,"

"truest," "life-like," "genuine," etc., which themselves need interpretation, the fact remains that nobody comments on the correctness of this view, which was doubtless that of Aristotle himself.

The occasional references to Horace are also suggestive of the same thing, which Prophyrio (*Schol. in Art. Poet.* 102) only emphasizes the more definitely when he comments on the *si tu vis me flere* by saying, *hoc Demosthenicum est*, which indicates an assimilation of poetry to oratory of the practical sort. This was, indeed, the attitude toward oratory and all art that we should expect and actually do find with ethical schools like the Stoics and Epicureans, *semper et ubique*; and even Aristotle was never able clearly to distinguish the aesthetic attitude from the other psychic attitudes with which it is closely associated. It has been suggested by Bénard⁷ that with all the Greeks this may have been in part due to the fact that their whole life was artistic to such an extent that no distinction was for them possible between the practical and the aesthetic—even the artisan was an artist.

If, however, Aristotle in the passage indicated meant the realistic interpretation indicated, namely, that the aesthetic attitude is one of actual instead of ideal emotion, then it seems that we have the best of reasons for assuming that in his discussion of the *katharsis* the same thing is true, so that he refers there also to reality and real fear. Other passages in the *Poetics* and the general background of his philosophy point in the same direction. In that case the problem of the *katharsis* is a pseude-aesthetic problem. It may belong to ethics and to psychology, as the description of a factual condition in which certain individuals are found while in the presence of genuine works of art—the *Mitspieler* of which Müller-Freienfels speaks,⁸ or of all individuals in the presence of sensationalistic music, drama, painting, poetry, etc. But it is not the aesthetic attitude, for that, at the time of Aristotle, had not been clearly distinguished.

⁷ Ch. Bénard, *L'Esthétique d'Aristote*: Paris, Picard (1887), 135.

⁸ Cf. Müller-Freienfels, *Psychologie der Kunst*, I, 66 ff. The author states there that in southern Italy certain *Mitspieler*, or those who take their art realistically, like primitive peoples, are accustomed to pelt the villain in a play with all sorts of missiles. A similar case of the *Mitspieler* is given in a poem by Eugene Field entitled "When Modjesky Played Camille."

CICERONIAN METRICS AND CLAUSULAE

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Since the oratorical rhythms of Cicero have been a subject of much scholarly investigation and debate from the Renaissance to the present day, the rhythmic quality of Ciceronian oratory is now altogether established as an undisputed fact. Despite the many exaggeratedly artificial interpretations of Cicero's technique and the many extreme views expressed on the subject,¹ the latest theories of scholarship are not only saner² but are also in felicitous accord with the principles of oratorical rhythm published by Cicero himself.³

Although Cicero has always been widely acclaimed as a prose artist, his most essential merits are very difficult to appreciate in the present day. Our modern ears are not attuned to catch the harmonious cadences and the delicate nuances of an eloquence which so charmed the orator's contemporaries. We recognize now the existence of these beauties, but we are somewhat powerless to perceive and enjoy the music which centuries ago occasioned so much aesthetic delight. It is as if, tone-deaf, we vainly strove to catch the symphonies of a cathedral service.

Our modern attempts at oratory are, of course, quite free from

¹ Cf., e.g., Th. Zielinski, *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*: Leipzig (1904); J. May, *Rhythmische Analyse der Rede Ciceros pro S. Roscio Amerino*: Leipzig (1905).

² Cf. L. Laurand, *Études sur le style des discours de Ciceron*: Paris (1926), (Vol. II, *Le rythme oratoire*). I wish to acknowledge the great indebtedness of my discussion of Ciceronian Metrics and Clauses to this work.

³ The second part of the *Orator* is devoted to a treatment of the general subject *numerus oratorius*, with detailed discussion of specific topics: choice of words; order in which they are arranged; symmetry of expression; length and plan of sentences; the systematic juxtaposition of long and short syllables—everything, in fact, which has to do with rhythmic oratory.

any such intricate technique of rhythmic prose. Furthermore, we ourselves are too much the stolid barbarian to respond to the excellencies of Ciceronian oratory as did the ancient Roman. In addition, the warm Italian enthusiasm, which has always applauded great art spontaneously and ecstatically, is largely confined to Italy. In addition to the refined and cultivated taste which it bespeaks, the story which Cicero relates about the orator Carbo betrays, likewise, the inherently sanguine nature of the Italian temperament. (*Or.* 213 f.) The transports with which the Roman populace interrupted the orator to acclaim a particularly exquisite clausula are altogether foreign to English-speaking auditors.

Yet, such a revealing incident unmistakably attests the importance in antiquity of rhythmic oratory as a conscious art. Forming our chief, and certainly our most authoritative source of information on the subject, Cicero's own oratorical treatises, particularly the *Orator*, render us an incalculable service. "Cicero himself," writes Laurand,⁴ "boasted of having written on the subject of rhythm more fully than any before him (*Or.* 226); he openly avowed his secrets for our instruction, and we learn from this avowal what he aimed at accomplishing and henceforth we comprehend less imperfectly what he did accomplish."

The word "rhythm" is sometimes employed in slightly differing senses in ancient as well as in modern usage. Cicero's own broad definition is important: *Quicquid est enim quod sub aurium mensuram aliquam cadit, etiam si abest a versu—nam id quidem orationis est vitium—numerus vocatur, qui Graece πυθμὸς dicitur.* (*Or.* 67). All speech, then, except verse, which is calculated to enchant the ear seems to partake of that quality which Cicero calls "rhythm" in this passage.

In other connections, *numerus*, employed in a much stricter sense, seems specifically to denote a succession of long and short syllables. (*Or.* 184; 188.) The term is used also in an intermediary sense, less broad than the first and less narrow than the last; in this connection, *numerus*, as contrasted with *sonus* signifies all the musical possibilities of language except the bare sound of the

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 118.

words themselves considered individually: *Duae sunt igitur res quae permulcent auris, sonus et numerus. De numero mox, nunc de sono quaerimus. Verba, ut supra diximus, legenda sunt potissimum bene sonantia.* . . . (*Or.* 163.)

In considering the first of those essentials of rhythmic oratory specified by Cicero himself,⁵ M. Laurand states that "although Cicero discourses at length on the subject of clausulae, he deals quite briefly with the matter of diction"—*le choix des mots*.⁶ Except where the language affects the clausula, Cicero's principal stipulation is as follows: *Simplex [ornatus verborum] probatur in propriis usitatisque verbis quod aut optime sonat aut rem maxime explanat.* (*Or.* 80.)⁷ Although our comprehension of the intricacies of Ciceronian theories of diction is necessarily imperfect, an examination of any one of the orations suggests that the frequency of superlatives is an evidence of this avowed predilection for "sonorous" phraseology.

The choice of words seems to have occupied Cicero's attention far less than the divers possibilities of their arrangement and the harmony of the sentence as a whole.⁸ Alliteration, employed more sparingly as Cicero's powers of oratory flowered, was never wholly eschewed, although its harsh abuse was disdained as uncouth (*Or.* 163). Hiatus was emphatically denounced (*Or.* 150), despite the apparent contradiction afforded by an examination of almost any page from the orations, which will usually seem to exhibit numerous examples; as will, indeed, the passage from the fourth Verrine oration (117), cited by Cicero himself as a very model of rhythmic oratory. (*Or.* 210.) This seeming contradiction between theory and practise is, however, merely apparent and not real. To the written text Cicero grants complete license in this respect; in oral delivery, nevertheless, elision was the practice.

This avoidance of hiatus was a familiar canon of correct speech: *Quod quidem Latina lingua sic observat, nemo ut tam rusticus sit qui vocalis nolit coniungere.* (*Or.* 150; cf. *Or.* 152.) Besides this very clear statement in the *Orator*, Crassus in the *De Oratore* roundly praises the pronunciation of Laelia, which he describes as main-

⁵ See p. 336, n. 3.

⁶ Vol. II, 120.

⁷ Cf. *Or.* 163 f.

⁸ Laurand, II, 122.

taining the true Roman tradition of speaking *non aspere . . . , non vase, non rustice, non hiulce, sed presse et aequabiliter et leniter.* (*De Or.* III, 45.)

Quintilian in several instances attests the Ciceronian elision of vowels to avoid hiatus (e.g., *Instr. Or.* IX, 4, 36; XI, 3, 34). This license, while avoiding the written hiatus in pronunciation, quite obviously reduced the arduous task of composing rhythmic oratory, yet sacrificed none of its harmony. The spoken discourse, delivered with benefit of elision, was as perfectly modulated as if it contained not a single hiatus in its published form.

Yet, it was not sufficient for the orator to avoid harsh phrases and the discordant clash of vowels; he must further titillate the ear with rhythmic symmetry and rich cadences. One of the most artful devices known to ancient oratory was the employment of three rhetorical figures linked together in theory by Cicero, and by him linked also in practice—parallelism, antithesis, and assonance. In the *Orator* many allusions to these three, such as the following, attest their importance to rhythmic oratory:

Et finiuntur aut ipsa compositione aut quasi sua sponte, aut quaedam genera verborum in quibus ipsis concinnitas inest; quae sive casus habent in exitu similis, sive paribus paria redduntur, sive opponuntur contraria, suapte natura numerosa sunt, etiam si nihil est factum de industria. (*Or.* 164. Cf. *ibid.*, 38; 175; 220.)

By the Greeks these three figures were called *πάρισον* or *ἰσόκωλον*, *ἀντίθετον* and *δημοιοτέλευτον*,⁹ and Gorgias passed for the inventor of them. There is no doubt that he gave them a more harmonious air and popularized them to the extent that they became the conventional adornment of literary prose from his day on down through the ages. Isocrates made extensive use of them, and Asiatic orators of the first century indulged in them to excess. Both in his own study of the ancient Greek orators and in following the precepts of his contemporary masters, Cicero was always encountering these three “Gorgianic figures.” Hence there is nothing strange about his own extensive use of them.

⁹ The following is the note of Laurand, II, 127: “Sometimes we distinguish from homeoteleuton the homeoteleuton which results from the employment of several words having accidentally the same endings.”

Parallelism is perhaps the most obvious quality of Cicero's oratorical style, as may be attested by even the schoolboy's easy familiarity with his ubiquitous *non solum . . . sed etiam*. It is not so widely understood and appreciated, however, that he developed the technique of balance so elaborately as to provide that the members of the isocolon either corresponded in length, or better still, increased in weight for an obvious effect of crescendo: *Aut paria esse debent posteriora superioribus, et extrema primis aut, quod etiam est melius et iucundius, longiora.* (*De Or.* III, 186.)

The rhythm of balanced phrases becomes especially noticeable when the ideas expressed are contrasted one to another, that is, are antithetical.¹⁰ Cicero himself points out that the natural accompaniment of antithesis is rhythm: *Semper haec, quae Graeci àrbitra nominant, cum contrariis opponuntur contraria, numerum oratorium necessitate ipsa efficiunt.* (*Or.* 166.) Following this statement, Cicero quotes from himself to cite as an example:

Conferte hanc pacem cum illo bello, huius praetoris adventum cum illius imperatoris victoria, huius cohortem impuram cum illius exercitu invicto, huius libidines cum illius continentia: ab illo qui cepit conditas, ab hoc qui constitutas accepit captas dicetis Syracusas. (*Verr.* IV, 115.)

A close examination of this passage reveals a fact that is frequently true, that the further concomitant of rhythmic antithesis is assonance. The ancients found added charm in rhythmic passages whose parallel phrases terminated with the identical sound. This assonance or rhyme they called homoeoteleuton. It is obvious that the similarity of declension and conjugation endings made a jingle of this nature quite simple to arrange. It is curious to note its identity with the end rhyme which we cultivate in modern poetry but abhor in prose, counting it less a merit than an actual defect of style. Such cacophony, as we regard it, nevertheless marked the very rhetorical figures which were admired by the Greeks and Romans as particularly harmonious.

True homoeoteleuton, however, should be carefully distin-

¹⁰ Laurand (II, 130) attaches the following note to his discussion of antithesis as a separate *genre* from *τάπιστων*: "Logically, antithesis should be considered as a species of *τάπιστων*, but because of its importance it is treated as a separate figure. In the theory of ancient rhetoricians, it is coordinate with, not subordinate to, *τάπιστων*."

quished from a fortuitous repetition of inflectional endings. M. Laurand makes the point that genuine homoeoteleuton does not usually occur alone but is generally employed to mark *πάρισον* or antithesis; it serves to throw figures into high relief and emphasizes with interior rhyme the contours of the period. Hence the three Gorgianic figures are continually found together. Cicero, in seeking for a passage which would most perfectly exemplify his art, has cited as a model in the *Orator* (165) the following celebrated sentence, which well illustrates the three:

Est enim, iudices, haec non scripta, sed nata lex, quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipsa arripiimus, hausimus, expressimus, ad quam non docti, sed facti, non instituti, sed imbuti sumus. (*Mil.* 10.)

Symmetry of expression, even when enhanced by antithesis and assonance, constituted for Cicero merely one of the rudimentary principles of his art; the great orator must develop a perfect mastery of that noble and expansive instrument of expression, the Latin period:

Itaque posteaquam est nata haec vel circumscriptio, vel comprehensio, vel continuatio, vel ambitus,¹¹ si ita licet dicere, nemo, qui aliquo esset in numero, scripsit orationem generis eius quod esset ad delectionem comparatum remotumque a iudiciis forensique certamine quin redigeret omnis fere in quadrum numerumque sententias. (*Or.* 208.)

It is in his power over the period that Cicero, always a consummate artist, most perfectly demonstrates his supremacy as a *prosateur*. His periods are never prolix, never turgid, never incoherent, even when of extreme length. The various members are always so skilfully ordered that clarity reigns supreme throughout. The diverse elements harmonize perfectly one with another, and their rhythmic cadences run the whole diapason possible to human tones which that great organ voice knew so well how to sound. Beautiful for their sheer music, Cicero made his sonorous periods also the faithful carriers of thought.

Nevertheless, it is a mistake to consider that Cicero spoke al-

¹¹ Laurand (II, 135) explains in a note that these are the terms with which Cicero strives to render the Greek word, which is first designated in Latin as *periodus* by Quintilian.

ways in periods. From the serene majesty of the periodic exordia he shifted easily to the familiar style of argumentation and the glowing intensity of his pathetic perorations. He himself advised a sparing use of lengthy, rhythmic periods (*Or.* 221), and recommended as well as employed certain "brief phrases" which he called *incisa* and *membra*:

Nam cum sis eis locis usus quibus ostendi licere, transferenda tota dictio est ad illa quae nescio cur, cum Graeci κόμματα et κῶλα nominent, nos non recte incisa et membra dicamus. (*Or.* 211. Cf. *ibid.*, 209; 221.)

The question of distinguishing between these *κῶλα* and *κόμματα* is somewhat vexed. The proportionate length of the two has been debated and among other suggestions the ingenious and ingenuous theory has been advanced that the *κόμμα* should contain specifically from one to seven syllables, the *κῶλον* from eight to seventeen, and the period seventeen and more.¹² Actual examples drawn from the orations by Cicero himself are, perhaps, more authoritative evidence, though difficult to interpret. In *Or.* 223 f. he quoted as *incise dicta*:

Domus tibi deerat? At habebas. Pecunia superabat? At egebas. Incurristi amens in columnas. In alienos insanus insanisti. . . . (*Pro Scauro*, 45.)

A very great difference is obvious between these "brief phrases" and the sustained quality of rolling periods. Although the line of demarcation between the two styles is not always precisely drawn, there are many passages where the distinction is sharp enough to insure certitude in classification. Oftentimes the effect sought through these short phrases is one of simplicity and naturalness: rhythm is unobtrusive, and the illusion that of conversation:

Quid Fabius? Horum nihil negat. Quid ergo addit amplius? Suam familiam fecisse dicit. Quo modo? Vi hominibus armatis. Quo animo? Ut id fieret quod factum est. Quid est id? Ut homines M. Tulli occiderentur. (*Tul.* 24 f.)

At other times the rhythm of these passages is carefully elaborated and, although less sonorous than that of the periods, is more intense and vibrant. The phrases are marked by antithesis; and

¹² Laurand (II, 138) cites du Mesnil, "Begriff der drei Kuntsformen der Rede, Komma, KOLON, Periode": *Zum zweihundertjährigen Jubiläum des Gymnasiums zu Frankfurt*: Frankfort (1894), 32-121.

assonance lends them vigor. Then the effect is certainly not one of easy familiarity or pleasantry, but of deep earnestness or pathos:

O nomen dulce libertatis! O ius eximum nostrae civitatis! O lex Porcia legesque Semproniae! O graviter desiderata et aliquando reddita plebi Romanae tribunicia potestas! (*Ver.* V, 163.)¹³

Of all the elements which comprise rhythmic oratory the most difficult for the modern critic to comprehend is the system of metrics, the calculated succession of long and short syllables. Yet this is one feature on which Cicero laid paramount stress; and those who lacked the ear for noting and appreciating such refinements he harshly scored: *Quod qui non sentiunt, quas auris habeant aut quid in his hominis simile sit nescio.* (*Or.* 168.)

In order to understand at all this quantitative rhythm of ancient oratory, it is necessary to keep in mind one fundamental principle of which even children were said to cognizant in the time of Quintilian: *Longam esse duorum temporum, brevem unius, etiam pueri sciunt.* (*Inst. Or.* ix, 4, 47.) Although this is likewise one of the canons of quantitative verse, it must be remembered that prose rhythm is by no means the same as that of Greek and Latin poetry. Whereas it is impossible for Latin rhythms to avoid altogether some of the forms of verse—the spondee, the dactyl, and the iamb—it does not essentially consist in any of these. The two chief differences between Latin prose and verse appear to be reducible to the following rules:

1. Prose avoids the usual metrical arrangements of poetry; an orator must eschew verse rhythms; if occasionally he does not succeed in doing so, far from being admired for it, he will be censured—this is a serious defect: *Est id vehementer vitiosum.* (*Or.* 189.)
2. Poetry follows strict rules; prose is more flexible; even if it does employ certain metrical combinations, oratorical prose convention permits more freedom and conforms to a less exact formula than verse.

Cicero often repeats these two ideas in the *Orator*, though he does not always distinguish carefully between them. We are told

¹³ The final sentence is a period, but one which completes the rhythmic movement begun by the short phrases.

that Isocrates enforced the first of the two canons formulated above: *Is igitur versum in oratione velat esse, numerum iubet.* (*Or.* 172.) And farther along in the discussion we are instructed in the same principle: *Perspicuum est igitur numeris astrictam orationem esse debere, carere versibus.* (*Or.* 187. Cf. *ibid.*, 194.)

The peculiar quality of rhythmic oratory, which neither lends itself to strict scansion, like verse, nor is lacking in conscious rhythm, like ordinary speech, is dwelt upon at length by Cicero:

Nec numerosa esse, ut poema, neque extra numerum, ut sermo vulgi, esse debet oratio—alterum nimis est vinctum, ut de industria factum appareat, alterum nimis dissolutum, ut pervagatum ac vulgare videatur; ut ab altero non delectere, alterum oderis—; sit igitur, ut supra dixi, permixta et temperata numeris nec dissoluta, nec tota numerosa. . . . (*Or.* 195 f. Cf. *ibid.*, 198.)

Above all else, then, Cicero demands of the orator that he avoid the metrical forms usual in poetry. This is an absolute rule, but it is a difficult one to observe; Cicero himself declares that in delivering a discourse a speaker is put to rather extraordinary pains to refrain at all times from lapsing into the forms of verse. (*Or.* 189.) Carping critics of Cicero since the Renaissance have searched his text for evidences of verse and have found numerous instances of the unavoidable iambic or trochaic dimeter; yet Cicero did not even pretend to avoid entirely such combinations, for indeed the only means of escape from them was to remain silent. The hexameters, however, the *senarii*, and the *octonarii* which have been discovered are usually found to be citations from the poets.¹⁴

Yet the avoidance of verse forms is patently a negative precept, and Cicero added to this quite definite and positive recommendations. He actually specified the employment of certain preferred metrical arrangements; and they are most easily detected at the ends of sentences—to use the technical term—in the clausulae. These, it seems, were more artfully arranged than any other part of the sentence for the very good reason that their effect upon the auditors was more pronounced:

Clausulas autem diligentius etiam servandas esse arbitror quam superiora, quod in eis maxime perfectio atque absolutio iudicatur. Nam versus aequi

¹⁴ Cf. Laurand, II, 145.

prima et media et extrema pars attenditur . . . ; in oratione autem pauci prima cernunt, postrema plerique. (*De. Or.* III, 192.)

It is difficult, indeed, to discover elsewhere in the sentence as many of those studied and elaborate metrical combinations as characterize the clausulae.

The prose rhythms which Cicero most highly endorsed and recommended for varied use at the beginnings and ends in the interior of sentences are often combined with iambs and dactyls and paeons, or other feet which are the metrical equivalent of these.¹⁵ The very nature of the Latin language makes it impossible to manage otherwise, as Cicero himself was bound to realize. Yet, there were other rhythms far more to be preferred.

Among the fairly recent treatments of the subject of Ciceronian clausulae, one of the most elaborate investigations in this field has been published by Th. Zielinski.¹⁶ In Zielinski's monumental work there is a tabular listing of the precise number of each type of clausula found in each of the orations of Cicero. The extremely broad interpretation, however, placed upon the law of metrics by this scholar and by many of the other investigators of clausular metrics forms a sort of negation of all definite rules: i. e., a short may be replaced by a long¹⁷ and then this in turn by two shorts;¹⁸ cases which are difficult to explain yield a solution, thanks to the *syllaba anceps*,¹⁹ to a catalectic,²⁰ or a hyper-catalectic;²¹ accordingly, for instance, the cretic (- u -) may become not only a first paeon (- u u u), fourth paeon (u u u -), or a molossus (---), but even a "transposed cretic" (u -- or -- u) and an "unrestricted cretic" (u u u); that is to say, practically anything you will. Yet, in spite of the fact that the laws of Ciceronian clausulae furnish the subject for much vacillating theory and debate among scholars, certain undeniable principles are self-evident among a morass of hypoth-

¹⁵ *Or.* 191-198; *De. Or.* III, 193.

¹⁶ *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden*: Leipzig (1904). Others are J. Wust, *De Clausula rhetorica quae praecipit Cicero quatenus in orationibus secutus sit*: Strasbourg (1881); E. Müller, *De Numeris Ciceronianis*: Leipzig (1901); Blass, *Die Rhythmen der asiatischen . . . Kuntprosa*: Leipzig (1905); May, *Rhythmische Analyse*: Leipzig (1905).

¹⁷ *Das Clauselgesetz*, 13. ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 96, 126, 144.

²⁰ Blass, *Der Rhythmen der asiatischen . . . Kuntprosa*, 119, 125.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 129.

eses. Furthermore, the theories of Cicero himself seem to be altogether in harmonious accord with the practice of the orations.

For any intelligent appraisal of the clausulae, according to Laurand, three basic fundamentals must be borne in mind. First, a final vowel occurring next to a word beginning with a vowel is slurred in pronunciation; this is the elision or synalepha with which hiatus was avoided. Indeed Cicero himself attests (*Or.* 150; 152) that the best usage of oral Latin imposed this rule and that all prose as well as poetry subscribed to it.²² Second, a short vowel followed by two consonants constitutes a long syllable; this also is a usage common to prose and poetry.²³ Third, and last, the final syllable of a sentence, as of a line of poetry, is either long or short indifferently. Cicero is explicit on this point, and by his own example one is permitted to count such a combination as one finds in the word *persolutas* as a double trochee, although the final syllable is long: . . . *persolutas*;—*dichoreus*; *nihil enim ad rem extrema illa longa sit an brevis*. (*Or.* 214; cf. *Or.* 217 f.; 224.)

The clausular rhythm to which Cicero himself assigns first importance and which he seems to consider most harmonious is the dichoreus or ditrochee. Since the choreus of Cicero's nomenclature is the familiar trochee, this is merely another term for the double trochee. It is a final rhythm whose cadence is admirable (*Or.* 214). Yet good taste requires that even the ditrochee be used sparingly, lest the listener's pleasure turn to weariness:

Dichoreus non est ille quidem sua sponte vitiosus in clausulis, sed in orationis numero nihil est tam vitiosum quam si semper est idem. Cadit autem per se ille ipse praeclare, quo etiam satietas formidanda est magis. (*Or.* 213.)

Although the ditrochee is regarded by some as an adequate clausula,²⁴ it appears to be a fact that it is usually preceded by a

²² The vowel preceded by a final *m* submitted to the same elision as the final vowel in prose just as in poetry; cf. Kroll, *Manuel des études grecques et latines*, VI, 56; VII, 62 (This authority is cited by Laurand, II, 159.)

²³ *Manuel*, VII, 66–72. An exception to this rule occurred, of course, when the combination of two consonants consisted of a mute followed by a liquid (*celēbris*); probably in Cicero this type of syllable is more often short, but it can sometimes be found lengthened. Cf. Laurand, II, 159.

²⁴ Laurand remarks (II, 168): *Le dichorée peut suffire à former une clausule, parce que d'après Ciceron, il comprend deux pieds*. Cf. also Cicero, *Or.* 215.

cretic, a spondee, or a choriambus, and very rarely by such combinations as the trochee or a series of short syllables such as the proceleusmatic. An investigation of the Table in the back of Zielinski's *Das Clauselgesetz in Ciceros Reden* reveals that from the oration *Pro Caelio*, for instance, there are listed fifty-six examples of the ditrochee preceded by a cretic; thirty-two examples of it preceded by a molossus; and approximately thirty other examples of it preceded by other metrical forms.

After discussing the ditrochee, Cicero mentions in the *Orator* the cretic:

Sed sunt clausulae plures quae numerose et iucunde cadant. Nam et creticus, qui est e longa et brevi et longa . . . commodissime putatur in solutam orationem illigari. . . . (*Or.* 215.)

Of course when the cretic itself is the final rhythm, it is always replaceable by a dactyl: *nihil enim interest dactylus sit extremus an creticus*. . . . (*Or.* 217.)

Although neither the cretic, the paeon, nor the spondee alone²⁵ ever constitutes a proper clausula, yet in combination with other metrical feet, the cretic serves as the base for the majority of clausulae. The cretic, followed by the trochee, is a combination which holds numerical precedence in the Table of Zielinski, and a hundred and one instances are reported from the oration *Pro Caelio* alone, which we may take as rather characteristic. Thirty-five instances of the double cretic and twenty-one instances of the cretic preceded by the molossus are reported from this same oration; and twenty-one additional clausulae are listed, consisting of the cretic preceded by various other metrical combinations. In this connection we may also consider the fifty-six instances catalogued by Zielinski of the cretic followed by the ditrochee.

The paeon, although it is the metrical equivalent of the cretic, was not so favored by Cicero for use in the clausulae:

Et creticus . . . et eius aequalis paean, qui spatio par est, syllaba longior, qui commodissime putatur in solutam orationem inligari, cum sit duplex. Nam aut e longa est et tribus brevibus, qui numerus in primo viget, iacet in extremo, aut e totidem brevibus et longa, [in] quem optime cadere censent veteres; ego non plane reicio, sed alios antepono. (*Or.* 215.)

²⁵ Cf. Laurand, II, 168.

Cicero in still another passage expresses a specific preference for the cretic:

[Paean] est quidem, ut inter omnes constat antiquos, Aristotelem, Theophrastum, Theodecten, Ephorum, unus aptissimus orationi vel orienti, vel mediae; putant illi etiam cadenti, quo loco mihi videtur aptior creticus. (*Or.* 218.)

The import of these citations does not at first seem altogether clear. On the one hand, Cicero mentions the paeon as one among the rhythms adapted to the clausulae; and on the other hand, he avers that it is not so suitable as the cretic for a final rhythm. It is easy to reconcile this inconsistency, however, if we conclude that Cicero did not particularly favor the paeon as a final rhythm in the clausula but employed it willingly as the rhythm just adjacent to the closing foot. In fact, the first paeon followed by the trochee (or spondee) is a clausula of frequent occurrence in the orations of Cicero; and this, indeed, is the type illustrated by the celebrated *esse videatur*.²⁶ Sixteen examples of this clausula are listed by Ziebinski as occurring in the oration *Pro Caelio*, and four instances of the fourth paeon used in a similar connection are also reported.

The peculiar quality of the spondee Cicero himself has plainly described. It is also, perhaps, the only rhythm whose precise effect it is quite easy for us to comprehend. Cicero tells us in specific terms that the two long syllables of which the spondee is composed form a measure characterized by slow-paced weight, and that, nevertheless, this very slowness and evenness of cadence produce an effect of great solemnity and dignity:

Ne spondius quidem funditus est repudiandus, etsi, quod est e duabus longis, hebetior videtur et tardior; habet tamen stabilem quandam et non expertem dignitatis gradum, in incisionibus vero multo magis et in membris; paucitatem enim pedum gravitate sua et tarditate compensat. (*Or.* 216.)

After discussing in the *Orator* the merits of the ditrochée, the cretic, the paeon, and the spondee, Cicero makes mention of still other clausular rhythms, which are far less highly recommended. These are the iamb, the tribrach, and the dactyl; and their occurrence in the clausulae is correspondingly less frequent. After giving

²⁶ Cf. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* x, 2, 18.

an unmistakable description of the three, Cicero concludes:

Sed idem hi tres pedes male concludunt, si quis eorum in extremo locatus est, nisi cum pro cretico postremus est dactylus; nihil enim interest dactylus sit extremus an creticus, quia postrema syllaba brevis an longa sit ne in versu quidem refert. (*Or.* 217.)

Among the clausular combinations into which the dactyl may enter, Cicero specifically expresses disapproval of that which is sometimes termed the *clausula heroica*; i. e., the dactyl followed by the trochee or spondee, the characteristic termination of the hexameter verse:

Dactylus, qui est e longa et duabus brevibus, si est proximus a postremo, parum volubiliter pervenit ad extremum, si est extremus choreus aut spondius; numquam enim interest uter sit eorum in pede extremo. (*Or.* 217.)

It may be added here that the *clausula heroica* is of extremely infrequent occurrence in Ciceronian oratory.

In support of the precepts laid down for clausular rhythms in the *Orator*, there are in the speeches themselves many evidences of the care with which Cicero arranged his own clausulae. There are, in fact, certain rather artificial devices in evidence which obviously betray his artistry. One is the repeated occurrence at the ends of his sentences of certain closing words: *oppetere*, *voluerunt*, *comprobavit* (*comprobatum*), *arbitramur* (*arbitrantur*), *cogitare*, *per-timesco* (*pertimescal*, *pertimescendus*).²⁷

Another evidence of conscious effort for effect at the ends of sentences is to be noted in the unusual arrangement of word order. Any elementary student of prose style is aware that a verb commonly closes the Latin sentence. Of course some deviations from this rule are justified by a consideration of style. There are, however, in Cicero's speeches abundant examples of inverted word order, which it seems easy to attribute to a desire for rhythmic effect: e. g., . . . *asperiora videntur esse* (*Tul.* 8) and not *esse videntur* (*clausula heroica*); . . . *in gratia posset esse* (*Ver.* II 21; a cretic followed by a ditrochee). In the oration *Pro Caelio*, indeed, occur a considerable number of transpositions apparently arranged for the sake of an effective clausula: e. g., *oratio est vestra delapsa* (*Cael.*

²⁷ Cf. Laurand, II, 186.

15; a cretic followed by a trochee); *causa relinquo omnia* (*Cael.* 54 a double cretic).

Another evidence of Cicero's concern with his final rhythms, one more curious and even more difficult to detect absolutely, is the addition of unnecessary and useless words for the improvement of the clausula. This practice, however, is attested by Cicero himself as a characteristic of Asiatic oratory: *Apud alios autem et Asiaticos maxime numero servientes inculcata reperias inania quae-dam verba quasi complementa numerorum.* (*Or.* 230.) As an example of just such padding the following is adduced by Laurand:²⁸ *Videte . . . quem in locum rem publicam perventuram puletis!* (*Rosc. Amer.* 153.) In this connection it is suggested that the sense of this sentence demanded: *res publica perventura sit*; but the clausula required: *perventuram puletis* (a molossus followed by a ditrochee). Yet it will be noted that this striking example of redundant expression employed for the sake of the clausula is cited from one of the earlier speeches. Such a device, like the use of alliteration, seems to have been more sparingly employed by Cicero in the later speeches.

The clausulae, to be sure, do not comprise the whole of Cicero's rhythmic oratory. This latter, as has been indicated, consisted largely in the symmetrical balance of the sentence, i.e., in parallel and antithetical constructions oftentimes emphasized by assonance; and such symmetry depended upon the extensive use of the so-called "Gorgianic figures," by the use of which the prose of Cicero linked itself to the Attic style of the early sophists, and more especially to that of Isocrates. Skilfully calculated combinations of long and short syllables, especially in the clausulae, did, however, play a very important rôle in contributing to the brilliancy of Ciceronian prose.

²⁸ II, 191.

ARISTOTLE ON NOMOS

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"What the law does not command, it forbids." This statement, made by Aristotle in his discussion of suicide in the fifth book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (1138A7), was so shocking to commentators of the last century and even of the last generation as to arouse almost uniform efforts to explain away its *prima facie* meaning. Where this was not the case, it met either skeptical acceptance or wholesale rejection. Grant thought it an "extraordinary assertion." "We might well ask," he says,¹ "Did the Athenian law command its citizens to breathe, to eat, to sleep, etc.?" While from Ramsauer² the statement elicited dogmatic disapproval, with the comment: "*fines probabilitatis excedit.*" The attempt to retain the words without their apparent meaning, has, for the most part, been more critical but equally unsatisfactory; it has taken various forms. (1) Victorious suggested³ that the entire statement was explanatory of *οὐ κελεύει* in the previous clause, *οἶον οὐ κελεύει ἀποκτινναὶ ἔαυτὸν δὲ νόμος*; *οὐ κελεύει*, it is said, means *ἀπαγορεύει* just as *οὐκ ἔἧ* (cf. 1138A10) means *κωλύει*. But this suggestion does not explain the change of the negative from *οὐ* to *μή*, and it reduces the statement *ἄ δὲ μή κελεύει, ἀπαγορεύει* to the bare tautology *ἄ δὲ μή-κελεύει, ἀπαγορεύει*, "What the law does not-command, it forbids," or "What the law forbids, it forbids." (2) Some⁴ view the statement as a gloss on *οὐ κελεύει*, which is said

¹ Ed. *Nic. Eth.*, London, 1885, p. 141. The "judicious Hooker" (*Eccles. Pol.*, Everyman ed., I, 234-235) was equally disturbed over the suggestion of Thomas Cartwright, the Cambridge Puritan, that "the scripture must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the 'taking up of a rush or straw'."

² Ed. *Nic. Eth.*, Leipzig, 1878, *ad loc.* ³ *Vid.* Burnett ed. *Nic. Eth.*, London, 1900, *ad loc.*

⁴ John Cook Wilson was, I believe, the first to make some such suggestion in an unpublished lecture.

to be an unexplained corruption of *οὐκ ἔτι*; but this is only an elaborate refinement of the first suggestion, and as such it requires no separate refutation, except perhaps the additional comment that the assumed corruption is very improbable. (3) Stewart's translation⁵ of *νόμος* as "custom" improves the sense, if at all, only to a small degree; if the statement is shocking, it is quite as shocking of custom as of statute law. (4) Burnett's suggestion⁶ to supply *ἀποκτιννύει* after *μὴ κελεψει* successfully limits the operation of the principle to the sphere of homicide, but it fails to explain the presence of *ά* instead of *οῦ*, and it implies that there was no law against suicide, an implication which is contradicted in paragraph three. (5) Richard's translation⁷ of *μὴ κελεψει* as "does not explicitly permit" merely increases the difficulties of the passage, so far as I can see.

In any case, all these efforts to explain away the obvious meaning of the statement are vitiated by the fact that Aristotle twice repeats the same statement: in v, 1 (1129B14) he says that the laws embrace everything, *οἱ δὲ νόμοι ἀγορεύουσι περὶ ἀπάντων*; while in ix, 9, 9 (1180A4) he asserts that we need laws *καὶ δῶς δὴ περὶ πάντα τὸν βίον*, with no indication even that by *βίον* he means *δῆβιον δὲ ἀνθρώπινος*. In their comments on the first of these passages Stewart and Burnett are singularly inadequate. Stewart's remark⁸ that "custom" is never neutral, though statutes are, is quite as shocking as anything in Aristotle; while Burnett,⁹ in dismissing the passage as something which "need not be taken too literally," tacitly imputes to the author an ellipsis which is extreme even for the condition of Aristotle's lecture notes. A correct interpretation of Aristotle's double reiteration involves, I think, a thorough grasp of two facts about his conception of *νόμος*.

In the first place, it is necessary to remember that the Sophistic distinction¹⁰ between *νόμος* and *φίσις* is not one to which Aristotle subscribes. Aristotle's doctrine that man is *φίσει πολιτικός* (*Nic. Eth.* i, [1097B11]) would appear to the Sophist a contra-

⁵ *Notes*, Oxford, 1892, vol. i *ad loc.* ⁶ *Loc. cit.* ⁷ *Aristotelica*, London, 1915, p. 17.

⁸ *Op. cit. ad.* 1129 B14. ⁹ *Op. cit. ad.* 1129 B14.

¹⁰ *Vid.* Plato's *Rep.* i, 2 *passim*; and *ZES Röm. Abt.* xxxii.

dition in terms: in the *Sophistici Elenchi*, cap. XII, the antithesis between nature and convention is put down simply as a rhetorical device; and in the *Topics* (140A6), we find as an example of bad definition, the statement that "Law is the measure or image of natural rights" ($\delta\ \nu\delta\mu\oslash\ m\acute{e}t\rho\o\nu\ \eta\ \epsilon\kappa\omega\nu\ t\bar{\omega}\nu\ \phi\wedge\sigma\epsilon\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\nu$). Only once in the Aristotelian corpus is the Sophistic antithesis presented as part of the author's own view, and this occurs in the *Magna Moralia*¹¹ in what is probably a post-Aristotelian account of views which do not belong to the maturity of Aristotle's thought. Elsewhere the author is careful to divorce himself from the view by representing it as that of other people. In the *Physics* (193A15) it is attributed to Antiphon; it occurs twice in the *Nicomachean Ethics*: once (1094B16) in a $\omega\sigma\tau\epsilon\ .\ .\ .\ \delta\o\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$ clause; once (1133A30) to explain the derivation of *νόμισμα*; it appears four times in the *Politics* (only in the late first book), and the language always makes it clear that it is not Aristotelian: cf. 1253 B20: $\tau\bar{o}\iota\bar{s}\ \delta\acute{e}\ .\ .\ .$; 1255 A3: $o\iota\ \tau\bar{a}\nu\pi\tau\iota\alpha\ \phi\acute{a}\sco\kappa\o\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\bar{s}$; 1255 B5: $\eta\ \acute{a}\mu\phi\iota\sigma\beta\eta\tau\eta\tau\iota\bar{s}$; 1257 B10: $\delta\bar{t}\bar{e}\ \delta\acute{e}\ \pi\bar{a}\lambda\iota\bar{s}\ .\ .\ .\ \delta\o\kappa\epsilon\iota\nu$.

For the Sophists, the universe was divided between *νόμος* and *φύσις*; for Aristotle, the distinction ceases to exist, and *νόμος* alone embraces the universe. Aristotle's view is, in part, a return¹² to the Pindaric conception of *Νόμος πάντων βασιλεύς* (*ap. Her.* III, 38); but it is, in greater part, a logical result of a development which was taking place within Sophistic thought, viz. the encroachment of *νόμος* on the sphere of *φύσις*. This enlargement of the province of *νόμος* at the expense of *φύσις* is very apparent in Antiphon (*Ox. Pap.* XI, 1364, pp. 96 ff.), and reached its ultimate conclusion in the Protagorean proverb of *Homo omnium mensura*. In Plato we find the first mention of a law of nature,¹³ and it only remained for Aristotle to deny that this expression was a paradox.¹⁴

The second fact which we must bear in mind is that Aristotle believed in species of *νόμος*; this is brought out by the elaborate classifications of the *Rhetoric*, where a distinction between the

¹¹ 1194 B30: $t\bar{\omega}\nu\ \delta\acute{e}\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omega\nu\ \kappa\sigma\iota\bar{l}\ \tau\bar{a}\ \mu\bar{e}\nu\ \phi\wedge\sigma\epsilon\iota\bar{s}\ \tau\bar{a}\ \delta\acute{e}\ \nu\delta\mu\oslash\$.

¹² Cf. Stier, H. E. in *Philol.* LXXXIII (1928), 225–258.

¹³ *Gorgias* 483 E3: $\kappa\ar\bar{t}\bar{a}\ \nu\delta\mu\oslash\ \gamma\epsilon\ t\bar{\omega}\nu\ t\bar{\eta}\bar{s}\ \phi\wedge\sigma\epsilon\tau\bar{s}\ \nu\delta\mu\oslash\tau\bar{s}$; and *Tim.* 83E: $\pi\ar\bar{a}\ \tau\bar{\nu}\bar{s}\ t\bar{\eta}\bar{s}\ \phi\wedge\sigma\epsilon\tau\bar{s}\ \nu\delta\mu\oslash\tau\bar{s}$.

¹⁴ Cf. Taylor, A. E. *Comm. on Tim.*, Oxford, 1928, *ad loc. cit.*

νόμος δὲ ἴδιος and the *νόμος δὲ κοινός* (1368 B7 ff; 1373 B4 ff.)¹⁵ implies the existence of a generic *νόμος* over and above the species. In the first passage the *ἴδιος νόμος* is equated with the *νόμος δὲ γεγραμμένος* while the *νόμος δὲ κοινός* exists in *ἄγραφα*; but in the restatement, *δὲ ἴδιος νόμος* includes *ἄγραφα* as well as *γεγραμμένα*, while *δὲ κοινός νόμος* is *κατὰ φύσιν*. In the end, then, an "unwritten" rule may be an instance of *ἴδιος νόμος*, *κοινός νόμος*, or, I suppose, generic *νόμος*; but a "written" rule must be an *ἴδιος νόμος*. In other words, *νόμος* is an extremely ambiguous word, and every time we meet it in the text of Aristotle we must decide whether it means the genus, a species, or only a sub-species. For example, it is probable that not only the "written laws," *οἱ κατὰ τὰ γράμματα*, but also the "customary laws," *οἱ κατὰ τὰ ζητηθήσαντα* of *Politics* 1287 B5 ff., are *ἴδιοι νόμοι*. Similarly, it is the *ἴδιος νόμος*, written or unwritten, which is described as a "contract" *συνθήκη* or an "agreement" *δμολόγημα* (*Rhet.* 1376B10; *Pol.* 1255A6, 1280B10; *Rhet. ad Alex.* 1420A25, 1422A2, 1424A10); it is *ἴδιος νόμος δὲ γεγραμμένος* which is opposed to *ἀλήθεια* (*Rhet.* 1374A36), to *τὰ πάτρια ζητηθήσαντα* and *τὰ νόμιμα* (*de Virt.* 1250B18), and to *τὸ ἐπιεικές* (*Rhet.* 1374A27, B21). It is, too, the *ἴδιος νόμος δὲ γεγραμμένος* which deals with *τὰ καθόλου* and of which *ἐπιεικεία* is a corrective, *ἐπανόρθωμα* (*Nic. Eth.* 1137B13 ff.; *Pol.* 1282B5, 1286A10). On the other hand, the law which is *νοῦς ἀνενόητος*¹⁶ (*Pol.* 1286A19, 1287A32; *Nic. Eth.* 1180A21; *de Interp.* 1134A35) or an *Ισοκλιτῆς θεός* (*Περὶ Κόσμου* 400B28) must be generic *νόμος*. When Aristotle says (*Nic. Eth.* 1137B27; *Pol.* 1287B19) that some things can be embraced by law and some cannot, he is thinking partly of the difference between *ἴδιος νόμος* and *κοινός νόμος*, and partly of the mere difference between two kinds of *ἴδιος νόμος δὲ γεγραμμένος*, i.e., statute and decree (*ψήφισμα*). When, on the other hand, in the passages we are considering, he says that *νόμος* embraces everything, he obviously means the genus *νόμος*; so that Stewart, in translating *νόμος* as "custom," is still thrice removed from the truth in that he gives to the genus the name of a second sub-species.

¹⁵ Cf. I, 13, 11.

¹⁶ Note the opposition of *κατὰ νόμον* to *κατὰ βούλησιν* (*Pol.* 1272 B6 and *παντα* *passim*), and see *Nic. Eth.* 1111 B11 for species of *δρεξις*.

If we keep in mind these two facts, we are in a position to understand not only what Aristotle means, but also why he has been misunderstood. Our commentators have, for the most part, been educated in the tradition of eighteenth-century political thought, and they possess a unanimous bias toward a belief in the opposition of a state of nature to a state of society. Now this opposition is very much like the Sophistic distinction between *νόμος* and *φύσις*, and very much unlike the Aristotelian view of an all-embracing *νόμος*; consequently, our commentators are better prepared to understand the view which Aristotle rejects than that which he accepts. The existence in the *Rhetoric* of a *νόμος δὲ κατὰ φύσιν* merely assists their misunderstanding, because it invites an obvious and false comparison with the "Law of Nature." To our commentators, the state is a necessary evil, which is never allowed to trespass on the domain of our "natural rights"; for Aristotle, there are no rights and no duties apart from political society.

Grant allowed¹⁷ that Aristotle's position was "quite different from modern views. Law is here represented," he says, "as a positive system . . . aiming at the regulation of the whole of life." But he adds: "Plato and Aristotle make the mistake of wishing for an entire state control over individual life." But this, we ought to notice, is only Grant's opinion.

We must go back to Michelet, I think, for a clue to the correct interpretation of Aristotle's view. He noticed¹⁸ *ut contraria Aristoteli iam nunc obtineat regula*: "*Quae lex non iubet, permittit.*" The Aristotelian *regula* is, of course, *Quae lex non iubet, vetat*; and the opposition between *permittit* and *vetat* is obvious. Since Michelet's day, however, Austin's attack on the permissive theory of law has introduced an absolutely diametrical opposition. Austin attacked the permissive theory in the form *Quae lex non vetat, permittit*, so that the imperative theory is stated in the form *Quae lex non vetat, iubet*; and we have only to transpose the verbs of this statement in order to translate Aristotle's *δὲ μὴ κελεύει, ἀπαγορεύει*. The contrast of principles¹⁹ is valuable because it brings out the

¹⁷ *Op. cit. ad 1129 b14.*

¹⁸ *Vid. Stewart, loc. cit.*

¹⁹ It is probably not too frivolous to quote Mr. Alfred E. Smith who, in a speech delivered at the Liberty League Dinner in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 25, 1936 (see

fact that each is important as a doctrine of liability. It is not that one principle actually commands John Doe to breathe or to fly to the moon, while the other forbids him to do so. The point is that breathing or flying-to-the-moon cannot, in one case, be made grounds for state intervention, because man has a "natural right" to do either; while in the other case, they can, because man possesses no such extra-social privileges. The Aristotelian formula is only consistent with a collectivist view of the state; if the state is to be all-embracing, it must be able to make anything whatever the subject of legal proceedings, and to do this, it must formulate an appropriate doctrine of legal liability. As such $\delta\epsilon\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma\omega\rho\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota$, is, indeed, very satisfactory.

Christian Science Monitor for Jan. 27, 1936), advocated unwittingly an Aristotelian interpretation of the federal constitution, an Austinian interpretation of the state constitutions: "The difference between the state constitution and the Federal Constitution is that in the state you can do anything you want to do provided it is not prohibited by the Constitution, but in the Federal Government according to that document, you can do only that which that Constitution tells you that you can do."

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUNG MEN IN CICERONIAN POLITICS

Sallust's statements about the manner in which Catiline sought the consulship for 63 B.C. are of course meant to be in some degree misleading. In sections 14 and 16 of the *Bellum Catilinae* he tells how Catiline gained adherents when he was preparing his candidacy. The language Sallust uses is of the most severe variety, and the reader is surprised, towards the end of section 16, when he finds that all these nefarious activities were only the preface to a more or less legal candidacy.

Embedded in section 14 is a most interesting remark: *Sed maxume adulescentium familiaritates appetebat: eorum animi molles etiam et fluxi dolis haud difficulter capiebantur.* The same thought is found again at the beginning of section 16: *Sed iuventulem, quam, ut supra diximus, illexerat, multis modis mala facinora edocebat;* and in the next section: *Ceterum iuventus pleraque, sed maxume nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat; quibus in otio vel magnifice vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant.*

The charge of corrupting the youth has been a favorite one since the days of Socrates, but it might very well be said that Catiline had done no more than follow the precepts set forth in that same year of 64 by Quintus Cicero in the *Commentariolum Petitionis* 6:

Praeterea adulescentis nobilis elabora ut habeas vel ut teneas studiosos quos habes: multum dignitatis adferent. Plurimos habes: perfice ut sciант quantum in iis putas esse. Si adduxeris ut ii qui volunt cupiant, plurimum proderunt.

That Cicero fully appreciated the value of the young men is shown by the way he speaks of them when he is writing¹ about the forces Milo has when he is a candidate for the consulship: . . . *iuentutis et gratiosorum in suffragiis studia propter ipsius excellentem in eo genere vel gratiam vel diligentiam.* . . .

It will be remembered that Caesar also was solicitous in his treatment of young men² and did all he could to bring them over to his side. One need only recall Cicero's numerous *litterae commendaticiae*, a number of which are addressed to Caesar, in order to understand the lengths to which Roman political men were willing to go in aiding their young friends.

I think it is fairly clear why three men so different as Catiline, Cicero, and Caesar employed the same devices. None of them was really acceptable either socially or politically to the old régime. The youth of the upper classes is naturally less conservative than its elders and is more anxious to follow wherever talent or personality leads. Not only were the younger members of society valuable in themselves, but they also furnished an entrance into the difficult citadel of Roman society which, in that period, exercised great control over political careers. Cicero used the youth as a means of overcoming social obstacles in his path as a *novus homo*; Catiline, a member of an old family which had lost much of its former glory, had the same needs as Cicero; while both Catiline and Caesar apparently found the young men a useful means of overcoming the prejudices which their own somewhat radical political views and actions aroused in older persons.

Quintus Cicero was very blunt in this matter when he was urging³ upon his brother the values of attracting to himself certain of the equestrian order:

. . . multo enim facilius illa adulescentulorum ad amicitiam aetas adiungitur.
Deinde habes tecum ex iuventute optimum quemque et studiosissimum

¹ Cf. *Ad Familiares* II, 6, 3.

² The best evidence of Caesar's technique is found in the methods he employed with the Bohemian group of nobles and literary men around Clodia; cf. J. W. Spaeth, Jr., "Caesar's Friends and Enemies Among the Poets," *CLASS. JOUR.*, XXXII (1937), 541-556. The varied political fluctuations of these young men is discussed by Tenney Frank, "Cicero and the Poetae Novi," *Am. Jour. of Phil.*, XL (1919), 396-415.

³ Cf. *Commentariolum Petitionis* 33.

humanitatis. . . . Iam studia adulescentulorum in suffragando, in obeundo, in nuntiando, in adsectando mirifice et magna et honesta sunt.

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HORACE, *ODES* IV, 5, 17-20

Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
culpari metuit fides.

The reading *rura* in vs. 18 has been rather acquiesced in than approved by editors. If the repetition means anything—and repetitions in Horace are not commonly meaningless—it suggests a contrast with *urbes*. Now while it may be true that oxen cannot perambulate cities quite as safely as fields, and that the country is more favorable than the town to the pursuit of agriculture, it is hard to believe that this is the point Horace intended to make. If the repetition means nothing it is a carelessness very surprising in the Fourth Book, and in an otherwise carefully wrought ode.

Vss. 21-32 contain a dominant idea repeatedly insisted on, the idea of peace, security, stability, at home and abroad; and this idea is emphasized again in the *ferias* of vs. 37. In vss. 17-20 a similar insistence appears in *tutus*, *pacatum*, and *culpari metuit fides*, where, as in C. II, 2, 7, *penna metuente solvi*; III, 19, 16, *rixarum metuens Gratia*; III, 24, 22, *metuens alterius viri castitas*; *metuere* has the force rather of *αἰδεῖσθαι* than of *φοβεῖσθαι*.

It is unlikely that among so many definite references *fides* has here a purely general reference. The conjunction with *volitant per mare navitae* points to its commercial sense “the sanctity of contracts is scrupulously observed”; cf. Acro *ad loc.*, *tamquam cuius tempore nec creditum nec depositum negaretur*. The expression is a bit stiff, but Horace of all men might feel it somewhat awkward to treat of trade as an activity worthy the dignity of a formal ode.

The stanza thus means: “Both agriculture (vss. 17 f.) and commerce (vss. 19 f.) are secure and prosperous, free now from the dangers of invasion or social disorder.” The implied contrast is particularly with the disturbed times of the civil wars, when trade

was disrupted and agriculture precarious. Surely if any idea is to be repeated and emphasized, it must be something that contributes to the atmosphere of happy and grateful tranquillity that broods over the whole ode.

This effect can be secured with little change of the text, if we read *tuta* for *rura* in vs. 18, taking *tuta* in the sense of "unendangered, unmolested," not so much "protected from danger" as "menaced by no danger"; as in *C.* II, 2, 21, *regnum et diadema tutum*; II, 10, 6, *tutus caret obsoleti sordibus tecti*; III, 2, 25, *est et fideli tutu silentio merces*; *S.* II, 2, 49, *tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido*.

Horace emphasizes the idea of security by repeating the word *tutus* in connection with the two chief aspects of Roman agriculture, pasturage and grain-growing, as in the following lines he treats of trade in its foreign and domestic aspects, each time variously emphasizing the same idea.

Ceres is probably the goddess. Horace is little given to the metonymic use of divinities' names; and the coupling with Faustitas points rather to the divinity, though Faustitas is apparently a deity invented by Horace because Felicitas, "fertility," would not fit the meter; cf. Acro, *nove felicitas dicta*; Porph., *sic dictum quasi felicitas aut iucunditas*. The poets seem to have felt no further need of her, and among the various kindred abstractions that appear on the coinage, Faustitas, so far as I know, is not found. Ceres may be regarded as *tuta* because she is no longer outraged by the destruction in warfare of the crops in which her divinity is manifest, for such destruction would be to her not merely an insult but an injury. The object of *nutrit* will still be *rura*, understood from the previous line. It would be possible to take *tuta* as neuter plural (sc. *rura*), but in the presence of *tutus bos* and *alma Faustitas* it would be intolerably harsh and crabbed.

It must be admitted that it is not particularly euphonious to place a word beginning with "t" immediately after one ending with "t," but Horace has done it elsewhere more than once.

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MORE ABOUT LATIN INFLECTIONS

In an article entitled "Efficiency in Teaching Latin Inflections,"¹ Mr. William H. Strain advocates several changes in method for the teaching of declensions and conjugations. Some of his suggestions are based on sound reasoning and should be tested in the classroom; others of them, for reasons which I shall indicate, would surely end in confusion and grief.

His best suggestion is that in the paradigms for declensions the cases be arranged in the following order: nominative, accusative, ablative, dative, genitive. This arrangement of the cases would doubtless make the memorizing of declensions a great deal easier by placing together virtually all of those pairs of endings which are identical. The suggested plan reaches the zenith of its efficiency and glory in neuter nouns of the fourth declension.

On the other hand, Strain's plan for teaching verb forms, instead of making the task of the student easier, would certainly make it more formidable. In the first place, he suggests that in giving the four principal parts of a verb we should give the third person, rather than the first person, of the present and perfect indicative active. Since by "the first person" he obviously refers to the first person singular, we may assume that by "the third person" he refers to the third person singular. The principal parts thus presented, he argues, "are really principal parts, for they compose the four most frequent verb forms and together furnish 41.2 per cent of all verb forms." Here he misses the purpose of principal parts; they are not meant to be the four forms occurring most frequently, but the four from which all other forms of the verb can be constructed. If the first principal part be given in the third person singular, the student has no way of determining whether a third-conjugation verb is of the *-o* type or of the *-io* type; therefore the student cannot know how to form the first person singular and the third person plural of the present indicative active and passive or any of the imperfect and future indicative, the present subjunctive, the present participle, or the gerund and gerundive—not to mention the relatively unimportant third person plural of the

¹ Cf. CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXXIII (1937), 18-24.

future imperative active and passive. This would never do, even in a progressive class. The plan would fare better if it advocated the use of the third person plural in the two finite principal parts, but then the neat argument that the principal parts would be "really principal parts" probably falls down.

An even less desirable innovation which Strain advocates is that in the beginners' course we teach systematically only twelve forms of the verb: the third person singular and plural of the present, imperfect, perfect, and pluperfect indicative active, the two present infinitives, and the present and perfect participles. "The remaining forms can be taught systematically in advanced courses, but should be given only as actually needed in the first year or two." This plan would simply postpone the difficulties to a date at which there is little, if any, time for drill. The life of the beginner would indeed be pleasant, but his first graduated readings would have to introduce mysterious-looking verb-forms one at a time. Would he then stop in the midst of his reading and try to fit each strange form into the incomplete jig-saw puzzle of the conjugation which he has learned (a confusing task indeed), or would he glance at the note, glibly accept the editor's word, and move on toward the classics themselves without having added much to his twelve original forms?

There is a certain amount of hard work that has to be done before a student can appreciate and enjoy the Latin classics, and a large part of this work is the mastery of the declensions and conjugations. If we can devise some ways of making this work less difficult, we should adopt them. For this reason I favor Strain's new arrangement of the cases. But there is no advantage in postponing the difficulties, as we would do if we should adopt the proposed method of presenting verbs. We cannot advance the study of the classics by making the first year easy and the second year baffling.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

Michigan Papyri, Vol. III. Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection: Miscellaneous Papyri, edited by John Garrett Winter. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XL.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1936). Pp. xviii + 390 and 7 Plates. \$5.00.

Michigan Papyri, Vol. IV. Tax Rolls from Karanis, edited by Herbert Chayyim Youtie with the collaboration of Verne Brinson Schuman and Orsamus Merrill Pearl. Part I: Text. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XLII.) Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1936). Pp. xvi + 437 and 4 Plates. \$5.00.

Volume III of the Michigan Papyri, under the general editorship of Professor Winter, contains contributions from almost all the faculty and student members of the papyrological school of the University of Michigan. The volume contains ninety-one papyri, Nos. 131-221, of which thirty-two were published previously in various journals. The reprinting of these in the present volume is a welcome service not only because this hitherto scattered material is now collected and incorporated in the regular Michigan Papyri series, but even more so because in many cases the editors are now able to give us definitive texts in place of the provisional texts of the first publications.

Nos. 131-138 are biblical fragments. Nos. 139-142 are fragments of an unknown epic, of *Oedipus Coloneus* 136-146, of Thucydides VII, 57, 11, and of Demosthenes *Contra Aristocratem* [636]

51-[637]54, respectively. Nos. 143-147 are mathematical papyri ranging from Euclid to chrestomathies containing tables of fractions and solutions of arithmetical and algebraic problems. Astronomical fragments (Nos. 148-151; an Appendix contains an excursus on No. 149 by Ernst Honigmann), horoscopes (152 f.) and magical charms (154-156) follow.

The remainder of the texts (Nos. 157-221) are documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Of particular interest are the Latin and Latin-Greek papyri and wax-tablets (Nos. 159 and 161-169). These present at several points problems which, after much discussion by scholars, remain as provocative and unsolved as they were at the time of their first publication.

The Greek papyri are all of types familiar from numerous previous examples. The brief commentaries therefore suffice in most cases, but sometimes fail to reveal the full import of the document. Thus, in the case of an extremely interesting group of papers from the files of a firm of dealers in produce (Nos. 182, 183, 193, 200; late third and early second centuries B.C.), the general nature and some of the details of the documents have been indicated by the editor, but a good deal still remains to be done toward a real *mise en valeur* of this group. Here, for example, are some points which catch the eye of the present reviewer:

It seems likely that there was a definite specialization or division of labor among the partners of the firm—at any rate, one of them, Tesenouphis, regularly took care of the dealings in wine. No. 182 is a contract whereby the firm agrees to pay 48 talents (copper), the price of a crop of olives, figs, and pomegranates which they have purchased¹ from one Eirene, to a third party, one Nikandros, who holds a mortgage on Eirene's land for the same sum. The original contract between the firm and Eirene called for the payment of the 48 talents (or whatever sum their obligation to her might be reduced to in the event of crop damage or failure, liability for which is borne by Eirene) in seven unequal

¹ In Graeco-Egyptian law, it is worthy of note, such a transaction was conceived as "rental," not "sale" of the crop: cf. 182, 15-16, *ὅν μεμισθωτας . . . παρὰ Εἰρήνης καρπῶν*; 193, 6-8, *καρπῶν ὅν ἐξαλήφατε παρ' ἔμ[ο]β*. The term "sale" was applied only to a transaction in which delivery of goods was accompanied by full and immediate cash payment.

but consecutive monthly installments specified as two talents monthly from Payni to Thoth (=8 tal.), 8 tal. in Phaophi, 15 in Hathyr, and 17 in Choiak. The reason for this gradation is not far to seek: the payments began in Payni (=July/August) with the ripening of the first fruits, and mounted in the autumn and winter months as the harvest progressed (olives were apparently harvested as early as October though not yet ripe²) and the dealers were able to market the produce. By the new contract (No. 182), these payments are transferred to Nikandros, who will receive the last installment one year after the date of his loan to Eirene. Since Nikandros actually lent Eirene only 44 talents 4800 drachmas, the interest on the loan is 3 tal. 1200 dr., or $1/14 = 7.14$ per cent, a very low rate at a time when the law permitted interest to be charged at the rate of 2 per cent a month, or 24 per cent per annum. A payment of 10 tal. on a mortgage to a Nikandros in Thoth (=Oct./Nov.) of 180 B.C. (No. 200, line 30) can hardly be connected, as the editor suggests (p. 244), with the contract just discussed, whose payments were to end in Choiak (=Jan./Feb.) 181 B.C.

Volume IV can be treated here only summarily pending the appearance of Part II, which is to contain the commentary as well as some pertinent fragments and the indexes. Nos. 223-225, which make up the volume, are three rolls recording the daily receipts of the office of the collectors of money taxes of Karanis from October 171 to March or April 175 A.D. Because of the homogeneity as well as the unprecedented extensiveness of this material, these rolls are of prime importance for our understanding of the process of tax-collecting in Roman Egypt. The rolls do not seem to have been uniform either in length or in period of time covered. No. 224, the best preserved of the three, is almost complete in 164 columns and covers, in its present state, a period of 11 months 10 days—which might lead to the supposition that a complete roll covered just one year. But No. 225 originally contained well over 200 columns and apparently ran for at least $15\frac{1}{2}$ months, while No. 223 was probably not much if at all shorter and

² Cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung . . . , Heft VII: München, 1925), 309.

covered about 13½ months. A feature peculiar to No. 225 is a cross-reference to a page of another roll, which accompanies most entries through column 135, after which the practice is abandoned. The payments recorded in these rolls are mainly for the poll-tax and other common imposts. There occur in addition some hitherto unencountered charges, some of which are unfortunately recorded in such abbreviated form as yet to defy resolution and interpretation.

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T. W. ALLEN, W. R. HALLADAY, and E. E. SIKES, *The Homeric Hymns*: New York, Oxford University Press (1936). Pp. cxv+471. \$8.75.

This book on the *Homeric Hymns* should be in every college and university library and in the library of every classical scholar whose purse permits him to buy all the books that relate to classical *Altertumswissenschaft*. It contains, besides 94 pages of Greek text, an Introduction of 115 pages, 356 pages of notes, and a good Index. It is a fine example of what the Germans call *Gründlichkeit*. Every conjecture and suggestion that has been made concerning the *Homeric Hymns* in the last thirty-two years since the first edition of the book appeared, has been carefully weighed, and every debatable point has been argued out to the sixth decimal place. It is all there. What A has said rather foolishly, what B has said without really understanding the phrase in question, what C has said because he did not know that a representation of a seven-stringed lyre had been discovered on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus, are all combined and the conclusion is drawn that in our present limited state of knowledge we cannot hope to settle the matter. This is rather querulous on the part of the reviewer who freely admits that all this has to be done for the sake of those who cannot spend the time to sift all the literature that has encrusted the *Homeric Hymns* during the last thirty years. He (the reviewer) has read the introduction and half the notes, and it has been an informing, even an enriching experience; but somehow he cannot help wishing that somewhere the editors had boiled down and

presented in six or seven pages the results of all their findings in a way that would reveal at a glance just how much our knowledge has advanced since Dr. Wilmer Cave Wright wrote her excellent *Short History of Greek Literature*. The introduction to the notes on the longer hymns to Demeter, Apollo, and Dyonus can be recommended to those who are interested in the Eleusinian mysteries, the oracle at Delphi, and other problems of Greek religion.

Repeating again that it was necessary that this book should be written just as it has been written, it must further be said that such books have exercised a baneful influence on the minds of many who have annotated Greek and Latin texts for the use of Freshmen and Sophomores. In trying to demonstrate our thoroughness in the minor points of scholarship we have sought to feed youthful minds on pabulum that is perhaps suitable for "nascent and crescent" Ph.D.'s, and we have forgotten some of the larger values that justify us in our belief that the classics make a proper foundation for an intellectual life.

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ALBAN DEWES WINSPEAR and LENORE KRAMP GEWEKE, *Augustus and the Reconstruction of Roman Government and Society*: (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 24), Madison, Wisconsin, University of Wisconsin (1935). Pp. 317. \$2.

Scholars have devoted a plethora of ink and paper to a diversity of opinions on the authenticity of Augustus' vaunted "restoration of the Republic." But to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Roman Empire Augustus was the saviour of the world because he restored peace and order, and because his reconstruction of Roman government and society brought greater good to a greater number, especially to the lower middle class of the Empire.

In anticipation of the Bimillennium of the birth of Augustus, in 1937, Professor Winspear, with the collaboration of Miss Geweke (who contributed the chapters on *Judicial Administration* and *Finance*), has re-evaluated the political and administrative re-

forms of Augustus with a view to determining their effectiveness and justice. The authors have treated in detail the varied problems which Augustus faced and solved—the creation of a strong central government represented by the *princeps*, the growth of emperor-worship, the establishment of a dynastic principle, the curbing of the power of the Senate, the admission of many strata of the population to an active share in the government through the development of a civil service system, the reorganization of the army on professional lines for the defense of the Empire, the reform of judicial administration and of public finances, social and religious regeneration, rehabilitation of Italy and the provinces, the special position of Egypt, the vassal states of the Empire, and the frontier policy.

The authors have written a very uneven book. There is much that is stimulating and suggestive, e.g. the discussion of the political significance of emperor-worship as a centralizing force, and especially Winspear's criticism of the widespread use of an eighteenth-century economic category, *laissez faire*, to describe Augustus' economic policy. But at the same time there are many faulty judgments, errors of fact, and omissions. Caesar did not use the title *Imperator* as a *praenomen* (p. 31). Contrary to the view of Winspear (p. 57), there is archaeological evidence that Augustus extended the *pomerium* of Rome. It is certainly incorrect to regard the cult of the emperor, which had no genuine religious content, as a "world-wide religion" (p. 65), comparable in its appeal to later Christianity. The attempted estimate (p. 131, n. 46) of Augustus' military budget is faulty because it does not include the expenditures for the *auxilia* and for the fleet, and assumes an eleven-year (instead of a sixteen-year) length of service for members of the praetorian guard. Frequently care is not taken to make clear the specific innovations and adjustments of Augustus, e.g. in the discussion of municipal administration. Portus Iulius (p. 193) was a military, not a commercial, harbor. The chapter on the vassal states of the Roman Empire is evasive; nor does it take into account the important recent researches of Kornemann and Klose on this subject. There are notable omissions, e.g. discussions of the *auctoritas* of the *princeps*, of Roman citizenship,

and of the *auxilia* of the Roman army under Augustus. The book is further marred by a flamboyant style, by numerous misprints (cf., e.g., pp. 68, 101, 232, Thrasea Paetus; p. 89, Thraseas Paetus; p. 315, Thraseus Paeta), and by a bibliography which ignores the more recent literature. The Index is excellent. On the whole, this book (which shows close affinity to Vol. x of the *Cambridge Ancient History*) belongs to that shadowy realm from which neither the scholar nor the layman returns with substantial profit.

A long argument is not needed to show that the administrative and political structure erected by Augustus was more effective and afforded a greater measure of justice to the inhabitants of the Empire than the decaying Republican set-up. But who, nevertheless, will deny that, judged by the author's own criterion—the greatest good of the greatest number (p. 14)—the Augustan reconstruction must be found wanting?

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GRACE H. TURNBULL, *The Essence of Plotinus*, Extracts From the Six *Enneads* and Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*, Foreword by the Very Reverend W. R. Inge: New York, Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xx+303. \$2.50.

Miss Turnbull's collection of extracts, based upon the classic Mackenna translation, presents Plotinus as a moral and spiritual guide. To accomplish this end the difficult dialectical passages have been largely omitted. The presentation of Plotinus as a spiritual adviser, however, is not to do him an injustice as a philosopher, for in him, as in no other thinker, personal religion and philosophy unite. This compilation will be welcomed by persons having a religious interest in mysticism and ethics and by university students who wish to read significant passages of this important author without wading through pages of abstruse dialectic.

This handy source book will assist in bringing to the non-specialist reader the thought of a man whose influence upon human thinking is not easily exaggerated. Not only has this pagan

philosopher so influenced Christian theology that some consider him in the apostolic succession, but he has also left his mark upon much secular literature. Miss Turnbull offers short discussions of his influence upon St. Augustine, Dante, Schiller, Spenser, Vaughan, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Emerson, and Tennyson. Of the great thinkers of our own time who have been affected by this great mystic, Bergson and Whitehead are notable. Plotinus' appeal to the modern lies in man's perennial interest in his soul and its homing instinct.

The usefulness of this volume is increased by an "Outline of the System of Plotinus" and a dictionary of Plotinian terminology. An annotated "Bibliography" and some quotations from Plotinus' sources enable the student to pursue intelligently a further study of this unfortunately neglected author.

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, Berkeley Institute, 181 Lincoln Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest to the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and material are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Getting a Fresh Start to Vocabulary

A common experience of Latin teachers today is the depressing sense that our work is stalling, and that we are getting no satisfactory results. The textbook fails us in this emergency; only the teacher himself can relieve the situation by altering the type of work and refreshing the class with some new approach. Let us see the value of a large picture chart in supplying things to be looked at, to be named, to be read about in stories of home manufacture, and to be worked into sentences original with pupils. Choose, for instance, the picture of a street in Pompeii with its shops, fountain, wine-cart, small boys, dignified house entrance, and vista of houses and city gate. From the first days of learning what a direct object is and when it must be used and how it must be spelled in Latin, the question from the teacher, *Quid vides in pictura?* finds every child interested and ready to venture his own answer.

The difference between *hic* and *ille* used to be learned by memorizing long rules from the grammar. But now we can contrast places in the picture as well as spots in the classroom, and the underlying idea comes clearly to the children, so that when much later they are reading more mature prose, the English idioms "the former" and "the latter" are simple and natural.

A little paragraph about the picture, with five blanks left in it to be filled in by pupils, will constitute a test on relative pronouns that gives the teacher only five words to look at on each answer paper. When several days' work on the relative has seemed to show that everybody understands even *agricola quem* and can write "the sailor whom," put the following paragraph on the board:

In pictura [which] videmus, viri in via stant, pueri ludunt, equus ambulat. Femina aquam portat, et virum [who] mulos tenet, spectat. Dabitne femina viro aquam? Viri [whose] togas albas videmus, sunt Romani. Pueri [who] in via sedent, equum non timent, sed agricola [whom] equus portat, pueros non videt.

In this little test we can find out what our pupils know about the use of the relative, while they see its machinery in operation and actually work it themselves. How much easier, too, for the teacher to correct five words on a slip of paper than to scan a whole paradigm for every pupil. Most important of all, we can see that a test such as this fits in with our idea that power over the language in an unexpected situation is what we are seeking for our pupils instead of memorized work often only partly understood and infrequently used. Let us have fewer long examinations and more short tests that reveal what our pupils can interpret on the spur of the moment and what they can do in expressing ideas with the materials at hand.

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Another Approach to Vocabulary

The drudgery of accumulating vocabulary in Latin by memorizing lists of words weighs on the spirits of teachers and pupils alike, and yet for lack of any substitute methods we keep on "assigning" review vocabularies. In the Caesar year one or two other ways seem to bring small but permanent results. Collecting families of verbs, if managed slowly and simply enough, gradually leaves in pupils' minds a reliable stock of words not tagged with a single meaning, but ready to be fitted sensibly into the context. In learning a family such as *facio* and its compounds, pupils see

the force of the prefixes when, in combination with the verb, these in reality retain their ultimate meaning. Moreover, our students discover the vowel changes that occur when compounds are made from roots with *ā*, a piece of information that stands them in good stead during sight translations.

The *facio* group may be presented to the class in somewhat the following form: *facio, facere, feci, factus-a-um*, "make, do"; *conficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "do completely, finish, use up"; *deficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "make away from, loosen oneself from, revolt, fail someone"; *efficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "make out (from some problem) work out, finish well"; *inficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "make into, dip, dye"; *perficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "make through to the end, accomplish, bring about"; *praeficio, -ficere, -feci, -fectus-a-um*, "make at the head of, put in command."

Of the common and important prefixes, there remain only three not included in this collection. *Sub* is more clearly understood from *subire* and *succedere*; *re-* more easily grasped from *redire* and *referre*; *sē-* more plainly seen in *secludere* and *separare*.

There are not many verbs which we need to study this way, perhaps ten or a dozen, before we are aware that the vocabulary of the students has considerably improved. Useful verbs with which to begin are: *ago, caedo, capio, iacio, facio, gradior, eo, do*. Others can be added by the teacher as the reading progresses. Care must be taken to go very thoroughly into this learning. This may be done by proceeding slowly and with insistent reviews which use these verbs for form drill of a functional nature. We should also show how the one root word we are learning helps us to meet others with the same vowel. For instance, when *caedo* and *occido* are being studied we should make compounds from *quaero* and *laedo* so that when we meet *inlidit* and *conquisivi*, the student feels ready to cut them into parts and guess the original word.

At this point we can begin to widen our vocabulary field as the text offers us opportunity. Call attention to the nouns and other parts of speech related to the verbs we use. This method of approach to vocabulary establishes a sort of network of words in the pupils' minds, and at the same time cultivates the habit of

looking at parts of compounds in order to deduce their meaning with the help of the context.

This is elementary training in exact observation and careful deduction from facts in the light of previous knowledge. It is this type of work rather than wholesale memorizing that will give our pupils the values from Latin study which we believe should come from it. *Discipuli mutantur et nobis mutandum est cum eis.*

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Latin Newspapers

The eleventh-grade Latin pupils of Steele High School, Dayton, Ohio, under the guidance of Margaret C. Wright, have launched a new Latin newspaper, *Nunc et Tunc*.¹ Its first issue appeared in December, 1937. Written for the most part in English, its eight pages of articles, varied in subject, well written, and interesting, have made a propitious beginning.

Suggestion for Latin Newspapers and Clubs

This department has recently received a copy of a cartoon drawn by Mary Louise Johnson, which was published in the *Nicolet News*, of Menasha High School, Menasha, Wisconsin. The cartoon illustrates a parody of *Horatius at the Bridge* written for the Menasha Latin Club by William Spengler. A Roman band on the river bank is spiritedly playing "Hold That Tiber." Two mechanics vigorously applying electric drills have already tumbled half of the bridge into the stream. Standing alone on the farther bridgehead is the gallant Horatius energetically spraying the now broken and disordered Etruscans with bullets from his machine gun.

Latin-English Calendar

Ginn and Company have published an attractive Latin-English calendar suitable for posting on a bulletin board. Each page con-

¹ *Nunc et Tunc* is obviously a popular name for Latin papers. Cf. the publications of the S.P.Q.R. of Senior High School, Fargo, North Dakota, and of the Latin Department of Waco High School, Waco, Texas.

tains, in addition to the month's calendar, a few of the outstanding events of that month. Much of the information came from the monthly calendar published in these pages a year ago.

Vocational Preparation through Latin

We tell students that Latin will ultimately help them in the professions, but we overlook the fact that in the long interval between the second or third year of Latin in high school and their actual entrance into a profession there are many years in which most people lose any of the conscious ties between Latin and the technical terminology which may have been stirred up in the youthful mind.

Mastery of the terminology in any field is necessary for successful self-expression. There are always some high-school students who are fairly certain what their professional interests are going to be. Ought we not then to start them in the development of a terminology suited to their respective fields? This does not need to interfere with the regular program of work to be done in each year, but may be carried along by those pupils who do have definite inclinations toward future careers.

Our suggestion is more than the matter of considering basic roots, prefixes, and suffixes, or of listing derivatives. It is the harnessing of both these points to a definitely organized unit. Perhaps a girl is interested in training for a nurse—and there are many of them. With the help of books on biology, hygiene, medicine, et cetera, she picks out many technical words directly belonging to the medical profession. Each week she lists in her notebook some ten to twenty of these words in the following manner:

<i>Technical</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Original Latin</i>	<i>Meaning of Latin</i>
capillary	hair-like blood vessels between the arteries and the veins	<i>capillus</i>	a hair
corpuscle	protoplasmic cell in the blood	<i>corpusculum</i>	little body

She organizes these words in definite related groups, i.e., anatomy, diseases, etc.

A boy interested in printing can give similar treatment to words

like "matrix," "pagination," "imposition," and "impression." If he feels that he will soon exhaust his list, then have him take the terminology of the fields directly related to printing: metallurgy, machinery, advertising, paper manufacturing, marketing, et cetera. One interested in teaching will have his subject of major interest and the related fields in which to work, plus psychology and philosophy. For one determined to be a stenographer, suggest finding out in what locality she will most likely be employed, then have her start acquiring a vocabulary necessary for that particular interest. For example, if a girl expects to do secretarial work in a paper manufacturing locality, let her look into chemistry, forestry, cloth producing, textures, and other subjects connected with paper making. *Mutatis mutandis*, the Latin teacher can help any pupil in building up a vocational vocabulary.

The listing of some two or three hundred words in a year and a half will make a secure bond between the classroom Latin and the technical terminology, for the latter will be used every day in later life and will have been acquired in conscious effort during the student's moments in Latin. Above all, this early training may stir up the romance of "technical philology" for the remainder of his active days. People like these will always remain champions of the classics.

Capable and energetic students may also, if they desire, carry this project even farther by tracing their particular subject of study from its earliest days in the Mediterranean world to the present. Again, let them place certain Roman characters in present-day situations pertaining to their interests, or let them place characters of today in relevant scenes in ancient Rome, and delineate the respective reactions, stressing the bewilderment, naïveté, and need for adjustment. In the third place, let the students compare the Roman evidences of their chosen professions with what the status is now. Then, if the students are reading fiction, travel, or biography in which their profession provides the setting, have them copy out short passages and entitle them with Latin proverbs or quotations. The following practice is especially good for high-school seniors or college students: Let the students write short paragraphs, developed through some given Aristotelian

topic, about their own vocational observations or reflections, entitled with some appropriate Latin line.

In this way we can as Latin teachers show our students something more than the usual narrow outlook on vocation and we can assist in that vital educational duty of vocational guidances.

WILLIAM J. CHAPITIS

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MENASHA, WISCONSIN

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John B. Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Dwight N. Robinson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Alfred P. Dorjahn, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

To the Latin Teachers of New England

The Classical Association of New England wishes to be of service to all Latin teachers in New England whether or not they are members of the Association. In particular we wish to give whatever help we can whenever a secondary-school curriculum is in process of revision. If you are revising your own curriculum in Latin, or if there is a general revision under way or being considered in your school, we hope that you will inform the Secretary of the Association, Professor John W. Spaeth, Jr., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

In several New England communities groups of teachers and other adults interested in the classics are meeting together at regular intervals of a week or more to read Latin or Greek authors. These groups generally choose a work new to most of their members and translate at sight. At least one group meets regularly at dinner and talks Latin. Another group translates for an hour (with the occasional help of the Loeb Library) and then plays cards and talks shop for an hour. If you are interested in being a member of such a group please write to the chairman of the Policies Committee, Mr. Nicholas Moseley, Room 8, City Hall, Meriden, Connecticut. A committee of the Association will be glad to advise any such group on interesting and inexpensive editions of Latin authors.

Connecticut

The Connecticut Section of the Classical Association of New England had its annual meeting at Putnam Catholic Academy on Saturday, October sixteenth, presenting the following program: Morning session (11:00 A.M.): Address of Welcome, Rev. John J. Wodarski, Putnam; "The Second Millennium of Latin Literature," Karl P. Harrington, Wesleyan University; "Colonia Augusta Treverorum" (illustrated), F. Warren Wright, Smith College. Afternoon session (2:00 P.M.): "Viewpoint in Vergil," Rev. John Louis Boon, S.J., Boston College; "Vergil's Treatment of Young Men and Boys in the *Aeneid*," Marion E. Armstrong, Woodrow Wilson High School, Middletown.

Pennsylvania

The students of WILSON COLLEGE, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, presented Plautus' *Mostellaria* in the original Latin just before the Christmas holidays. The cast of eighteen, which included Eleanor Tichenor, of Orange, N. J.; Josephine Neal, of Plainfield, N. J.; and Kathryn Magill, of Malden, Mass., was under the direction of Miss Cora Lutz, assistant professor of classics. Seventy representatives of colleges and preparatory schools in the district, in addition to students, faculty, and townspeople were in attendance at the presentation of the old Roman comedy.

South Dakota Classical Association

With the adoption of a constitution in November the organization of the CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH DAKOTA was completed. The whole-hearted response from Latin teachers of the whole state is most promising. The secretary, Ruth Bergstrom, Pierre, is recording many new memberships. Dr. Grace L. Beede, University of South Dakota, is president and Maud Adams, Owanka, is vice-president.

South Dakota Latin Contest

This essay contest for secondary schools is sponsored by the State Classical Association under the chairmanship of Principal Carl C. Seeger, Beresford. The subject is the Augustan Age. The contest will end the week of Easter, and three awards, Caproni casts of classical sculpture, will be made the first of May.

South Dakota Education Association

The Latin Section met in Sioux Falls November 21-24, with Dr. Grace L. Beede, of the University of South Dakota, presiding. The attendance was the largest in years. The first session opened with two Latin hymns set to a Gregorian chant; then the girls' chorus, of the Cathedral High School, under the direction of Sister Mauricia, sang "List the Cherubic Host." Dr. A. E. Woodall, of Northern States Teachers College, presented a paper on "Augustus As a Factor in the Modern World" and introduced his new play, *Caesar's*

Republic. Miss Maud Adams, of Owanka, directed a demonstration on the theme "How I Emphasize Character Values in Personalities of Latin Courses." An exhibit of Latin projects, arranged by Irene Cummings and Helen Bliss, of Washington High School, Sioux Falls, was the best that has ever been assembled in the state.

Very successful was the innovation of a joint luncheon for teachers of both the classical and modern foreign languages. It brought a fresh realization of our common interests and problems and produced a new feeling of strength in numbers.

At the second session Dr. A. L. Keith, University of South Dakota, gave his "Fifty-Year Retrospect of Latin"; Bessie K. Burgi, Yankton, spoke for the "Classical Professional Organizations," and Stella Meyer, Milbank, discussed "Community Interest in Latin." Professor M. A. Stewart, Yankton College, led a lively Give-and-Take Roundtable.

Next year the meeting will be at Mitchell. Principal C. C. Seeger, Beresford, was elected president; Emma Piersol, Presho, vice-president; Doris Spieker, secretary.

Tennessee

With the inauguration of his successor on February 5 Chancellor James H. Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, ended a period of more than forty years of outstanding executive accomplishment. Some of his older friends, however, like the colleagues of Horace's earlier days in the *Collegium Scribarum*, prefer to think of Chancellor Kirkland as a classical scholar loaned for a long time, but still temporarily, to administration. We therefore beg to express the wish that his well-won leisure may find him again enjoying life among his literary friends of Greece and Rome.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Herbert Newell Couch, Brown University.]

AESCHYLUS, *Septem quae supersunt tragoeiae*, recensuit Gilbertus Murray (Oxford Classical Texts): New York, Oxford University Press (1937). Pp. xv + 354. 7s. 6d.

AGARD, W. R., *Medical Greek and Latin at a Glance*,² With an Introduction by C. H. Bunting: New York, Harper and Brothers (Paul B. Hoeber) (1937). Pp. 87. \$1.50.

ARISTOTLE, *Parts of Animals*, With an English Translation by A. L. Peck; *Id.*, *Movement of Animals*, *Progression of Animals*, With an English Translation by E. S. Forster (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 541. \$2.50.

ATHENAEUS, *The Deipnosophists*, With an English Translation by Charles Burton Gulick, Vol. VI (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 529. \$2.50.

AUTORE, ORSOLA, *Marziale e l'Epigramma Greco*: Palermo, Casa Editrice Trimarchi (1937). Pp. 115. L. 12.

BEVAN, E. R., *The World of Greece and Rome*: London, Thomas Nelson and Sons (1937). Pp. 168. 1s. 6d.

BLEGEN, C. W., *Prosymna*, The Helladic Settlement Preceding the Argive Heraeum; With a Chapter on the Jewelry and Ornaments by E. P. Blegen: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co. (1937). Pp. xxvi + 488 and x + 192, 8 colored plates, 731 illustrations. £7 7s.

BONNER, CAMPBELL, *The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek*: London, Christopher (1937). Pp. ix + 106, 2 plates.

BOSSELT, H. T., *Art of Ancient Crete*, From the Earliest Times to the Iron Age: London, Zwemmer (1937). Pp. 348. 12s. 6d.

BOYANCÉ, P., *Le culte des muses chez les philosophes grecs*: Paris, de Boccard (1937). Pp. 376. Fr. 40.

BRITTAINE, F., *Mediaeval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300*: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co. (1937). Pp. xiv + 274. 15s.

BURGARD, R., *L'expédition d'Alexandre et la conquête de l'Asie*: Paris, Nouvelle Revue Française (1937). Illustrations, maps. Fr. 21.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

BURN, A. R., *The World of Hesiod*, A Study of the Greek Middle Ages, ca. 900-700 B.C.: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1936). Pp. xv+263. \$3.50.

BUSCH, GERDA, *Untersuchungen zum Wesen der τύχη in den Tragödien des Euripides* (Doctor's Thesis): Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung (1937). Pp. 74.

BURY, J. B., *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander the Great*: New York, Modern Library Giants (1937). Pp. xxii+885. \$1.25.

CARRINGTON, R. C., *Pompeii*: New York, Oxford University Press (1936). Pp. xii+197, illustrated. \$4.00.

COHEN, R., *Athènes, une démocratie, de sa naissance à sa mort*: Paris, Arthème Fayard et Cie (1936). Pp. 320. Fr. 15.

COOK, S. A., ADCOCK, F. E., and CHARLESWORTH, M. P., Editors, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. xi, *The Imperial Peace, A.D. 70-192*: New York, Macmillan (1936). Pp. xxvii+997. Maps, plans, tables, etc. \$10.50.

CUTT, T., *Meter and Diction in Catullus' Hendecasyllabics* (Doctor's Thesis): Chicago, University of Chicago Press (1936). Pp. iii+67.

DANIELS, ERNEST D., *Because of His Faith*: Boston, Bruce Humphries, Inc. (1937). Pp. 256. \$2.00.

DILLER, A., *Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander*: Urbana, University of Illinois Press (1937). Pp. 187. \$2.50.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS, *Roman Antiquities*, With an English Translation by Earnest Cary, Vol. i (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 541. \$2.50.

EDWARD, LORD HERBERT OF CHERBURY, *De Veritate*, Translated with an Introduction by Meyrick H. Carre (University of Bristol Studies, No. 6): London, J. W. Arrowsmith Ltd. (1937). Pp. 334. 12s. 6d.

ENDENBURG, P. J. T., *Koinoonia en Gemeenschap in den klassieken Tijd*: Amsterdam, H. J. Paris (1937). Pp. xii+218. G. 3.90.

FIDDIAN, C. M., *First Latin Course*: London, Martin Hopkinson, Ltd. (1936). Pp. 192. 3s.

FIVES, D. C., *Use of the Optative Mood in the Works of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus* (Doctor's Thesis): Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America (1937). Pp. xxiii+106. \$1.75.

FLACELIÈRE, R., *Plutarque, sur les Oracles de la Pythie*: Paris, Les Belles Lettres (1937). Pp. 180, plan.

FRANK, TENNEY, Editor, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. III, *Roman Britain*, by R. G. Collingwood; *Roman Spain*, by J. J. Van Noststrand; *Roman Sicily*, by V. M. Scramuzza; *La Gaule Romaine*, by A. Grenier: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1937). Pp. 664. \$4.00.

FRANKLIN, H. W. F., and BRUCE, J. A. G., *New Course in Latin Prose Composition*, 2 vols.: London, Longmans, Green, and Co. (1937). Pp. xii+348 and x+124. 4s. 6d. and 2s. 9d.

FRAZER, J. G., *Greece and Rome*, Selections Chosen and Edited by S. G. Owen: London, Macmillan (1937). Pp. 292, maps. 2s. 6d.

GLAVA, ZOE ATHENA, *A Study of Heliodorus and His Romance, the Aethiopica* (Doctor's Thesis): New York University (1937). Pp. 20.

HARVEY, SIR PAUL, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*: New York, Oxford University Press (1937). Pp. 462. \$3.00.

HERRON, SISTER MARGARET CLARE, *Study of the Clausulae in the Writings of St. Jerome* (Doctor's Thesis): Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America (1937). Pp. xiv+132. \$1.75.

HÖNN, K., *Augustus*: Vienna, Seidel (1937). Pp. 272. M. 7.80.

JENNISON, GEORGE, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*: Manchester University Press (1937). Pp. 198. 12s. 6d.

JOSEPHUS, *Jewish Antiquities*, Books IX-XI, With an English Translation by Ralph Marcus, Vol. VI (Loeb Classical Library): Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 532. \$2.50.

KELLETT, E. E., *The Story of Dictatorship from the Earliest Times till Today*: New York, E. P. Dutton Co. (1937). \$1.75.

KERRY, W., *Easy Passages for Latin Prose Composition*: New York, Stechert (1937). Pp. 80. \$0.60.

KLUMBACH, H., *Tarentiner Grabkunst*: Rentlingen, Gryphius (1937). Pp. xii+99, 42 plates. RM. 32.

LAKE, K., *Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron*: London, Christopher. Pp. 37, plates. \$2.00.

LAMBRECHTS, P., *La composition du sénat romain de Septime Sévère à Dioclétien, 193-284* (Doctor's Thesis): Budapest, Institut de Num. et d'Arch. de l'Université Pázmány (1937). Pp. 130. Pengö 12.

Latin for Lawyers: London, Sweet and Maxwell, Ltd. (1937). 7s. 6d.

LEWIS, L. W. P., and GODDARD, E. H., *Foundations for Latin Prose Composition*: London, William Heinemann, Ltd. (1937). Pp. 201. 3s.

MACGREGOR, M., *Studies and Diversions in Greek Literature*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1937). Pp. vii+307. \$5.00.

MACVEAGH, M. and L., *Greek Journey*: New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. (1937). Pp. viii+207, map. \$2.00.

MANILI, M., *Astronomicon*, recensuit et enarravit A. E. Houseman: Cambridge, at the University Press; New York, The Macmillan Co. (1937). Five volumes. \$2.50 each.

MARTIAL, *Selected Easy Epigrams*: London, Martin Hopkinson, Ltd. (1937). Pp. 105. 2s. 6d.

MATTHESIUS, K. H., *Medizinisches bei Vergil und Ovid* (Doctor's Thesis): Düsseldorf, Nolte (1937). Pp. iv+28.

MINARD, A., *Deux relatifs homériques*: Paris, Klincksieck (1937). Pp. 96.

MITCHISON, NAOMI, AND CROSSMAN, R. H. S., *Socrates*: London, Hogarth (1937). Pp. 80. 1s. 6d.

MULDOON, H. C., *Lessons in Pharmaceutical Latin, and Prescription Writing and Interpretation* (3rd edition revised): New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc. (1937). Pp. xi+232. \$1.75.

NYBAKKEN, O. E., *An Analytical Study of Horace's Ideas* (Doctor's Thesis): Iowa City, State University of Iowa Press (1937). Pp. 124. \$1.50.

PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. VI A 2, Zweite Reihe, Halfbd. 12: Stuttgart, Metzler (1937).

PHILLIPS, L. T., *Subordinate Temporal, Causal, and Adversative Clauses in the Works of St. Ambrose* (Doctor's Thesis): Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America (1937). Pp. xiii+165. \$1.75.

PLUTARCH, *Life of Aratus*, With Introduction, Notes, and Appendix by W. H. Porter: London, Longmans, Green and Co. (1937). Pp. 96, map \$2.00.

PLUTARCH, *Selected Essays*, Edited by C. B. Robinson, Jr., With a Foreword by Abraham Flexner: New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1937). Pp. xi+15 +95. \$1.00.

PÖSCHL, VIKTOR, *Römischer Staat und griechisches Staatsdenken bei Cicero*: Berlin, Junker und Dünnhaupt (1936). Pp. 186.

RAND, EDWARD KENNARD, *A Toast to Horace*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. 41. \$1.00.

RODGERS, W. L., *Greek and Roman Naval Warfare*: Annapolis, United States Naval Inst. (1937). Pp. xv+555, illustrated, maps. \$6.00.

SCOTT, SANFORD, Gummere, *Latin Book Two*: Chicago, Scott, Foresman & Co. Pp. 474. \$1.68.

STEVENS, G. P., *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1937). Pp. x+78, illustrated. \$2.50.

STÖCKLEIN, P., *Über die Philosophische Bedeutung von Platons Mythen*: Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (1937). Pp. viii+58. M. 4.50.

SUTHERLAND, C. H. V., *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*: New York, Oxford University Press (1937). Pp. xii+184, 14 plates. \$3.50.

TORNAGHI, O., *Romana sapienza. Motti, locusioni, e proverbi latini*: Ferrara, Emiliana (1937). Pp. xii+279. L. 8.

TRENDALL, A. D., *Paestan Pottery, A Study of the Red-Figured Vases of Paestum*: London, Macmillan (1937). Pp. xiv+141, illustrated, maps. 20s.

VINCENT, C. J., *A Second Latin Reader*: New York, Oxford University Press (1937). Pp. 144. \$0.75.

WIJKSTRÖM, B., *Studier över Parafrasen i Latinsk Prosa*: Göteborg, Eranos' Förlag (1937). Pp. xvi+221.

WINTER, J. G., *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection; Miscellaneous Papyri*: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1936). Pp. xviii+390, 7 plates.

YOUTIE, H. C., With the Collaboration of V. B. Schumann and O. M. Pearl, *Tax Rolls from Karanis, Part I, Text*: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1936). Pp. xvi+437, 4 plates. \$5.00.